

**Troubling Dominance in Sport:
Deconstructing Curling Culture(s) through Narrative Inquiry**

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

Curling, with its deep history, colonial legacy, and quintessential “Canadianness” (Mair, 2007, 2009) offers a rich context to explore how dominant narratives within a sport may continue to affect diversity and inclusion. For example, one prominent narrative in curling is a commitment to “reflect the changing needs of the cultural mosaic and lifestyles of Canadians” (Curling Canada, 2019b), expressing curling as a sport that is open and welcoming to all Canadians. However, its image continues to present as White, middle-classed, heterosexual, and able-bodied (Curling Canada et al., 2015). The purpose of this inquiry was to explore the role of dominant narratives in curling culture(s) as revealed through the experiences of its participants. Further, the inquiry sought to understand how dominant narratives may reinforce conditions limiting curling’s ability to achieve a vision of a fully inclusive and truly diverse sport. The inquiry used semi-structured interviews to gather participant accounts, which were then analyzed to detect tensions and stresses. Breaking with traditional practices of representing findings, performance text – a form of creative analytic practice (CAP) (Berbary, 2011; Parry & Johnson, 2007; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) – was used to explore the complexity of the issues in a dialogic form. The inquiry revealed that persistent questions of “race”, lack of diversity, and of the possibility of decolonizing curling’s past continues to affect curling today. Moreover, the lack of discourse regarding those issues emerged as a significant obstacle contributing to curling’s continued underrepresentation of Indigenous and people of colour. By deconstructing the personal experiences and repurposing tensions into a performative dialogue, the limitations to inclusion in curling are shown directly related to its cultures, where tradition maintains “whiteness” within a colonial frame, and in opposition to an inclusive vision where all Canadians are welcome and represented.

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Dedication

For Mum, I think this would make you smile... and yes, I am having fun.

Table of Contents

Examining Committee Membership	ii
Author’s Declaration	iii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Dedication	vi
Table of Contents	vii
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Purpose of Inquiry	6
1.2 Structure of Dissertation.....	7
2.0 Literature Review	10
2.1 Sport Tradition and Culture.....	11
2.1.1 <i>Symbols and Artifacts in Sport Tradition</i>	12
2.1.2 <i>Notions of Timelessness and Permanence in Sport Tradition</i>	17
2.1.3 <i>Control and Conformity in Sport Tradition and Impacts on Inequality</i>	19
2.1.4 <i>Curling’s Tradition and Canadian Identity</i>	24
2.2 Community Sport Organizations and Culture	30
2.2.1 <i>The Community Sport Club and Diversity</i>	31
2.2.2 <i>The Community Sport Club and Community Building</i>	33
2.2.3 <i>The Community Sport Club and Organizational Culture</i>	34
2.3 Sport and Diversity	38
2.3.1 <i>Sport and “Race”</i>	38
2.3.2 <i>“Race” and My Identity</i>	42
2.3.3 <i>Sport and “Whiteness”</i>	44
2.3.4 <i>Sport and Multiculturalism</i>	49
2.3.5 <i>Sport and Colonialism</i>	55
2.4 Poststructuralism as Theoretical Underpinning.....	61
2.4.1 <i>Introduction to Poststructuralism</i>	63

2.4.2	<i>Poststructural Thinking in Sport and Culture</i>	66
3.0	Methodology	70
3.1	Narrative Inquiry	74
3.2	Poststructuralism as Macro Theoretical Perspective	76
3.2.1	<i>Subjectivity and Multiplicity</i>	77
3.2.2	<i>Language and Meaning</i>	80
3.3	Methods	85
3.3.1	<i>Research Context</i>	85
3.3.2	<i>Observation (Club Environment)</i>	87
3.3.3	<i>Participant Recruitment and Interviews</i>	89
3.3.4	<i>Photo Elicitation</i>	92
3.3.5	<i>Personal Journaling / Researcher Interpretation</i>	93
3.4	Researcher Position, Privilege, and Self-Reflection.....	96
3.5	Analytic Approach.....	98
3.6	Performance Text as Creative Analytic Practice	101
3.6.1	<i>Exploring “Race” and Identity Through Creative Writing</i>	102
3.6.2	<i>Creative Practices as Political Action</i>	106
3.6.3	<i>Participants’ Experiences – Character Construction</i>	108
3.6.4	<i>Researcher’s Insights – Accounting for My Fragmented Identities</i>	109
4.0	Performance Text	112
4.1	Scene I – When the Pipes Come Marching In.....	114
4.1.1	<i>Reader Notes</i>	114
4.1.2	<i>Scene I – Performance Text</i>	115
4.1.3	<i>Director’s Notes – “When the Pipes Come Marching In...”</i>	137
4.2	Scene II – So White.....	140
4.2.1	<i>Reader Notes</i>	140
4.2.2	<i>Scene II – Performance Text</i>	142
4.2.3	<i>Director’s Notes – “So White...”</i>	156
4.3	Scene III – If I Only Had My Way.....	159
4.3.1	<i>Reader Notes</i>	159
4.3.2	<i>Scene III – Performance Text</i>	160

4.3.3	<i>Director’s Notes – “If I Only Had My Way...”</i>	187
5.0	Discussion	190
5.1	Dominant Narratives of Curling Experiences	190
5.1.1	<i>Curling’s Victorian Legacy</i>	191
5.1.2	<i>Curling as Social Connector and Community Builder</i>	196
5.1.3	<i>Curling’s Grassroots Identity Struggle</i>	202
5.1.4	<i>Curling as Canada’s Other National Sport</i>	205
5.1.5	<i>The Competing Interests of Diversity as Social Good and Financial Driver</i>	211
5.2	Neglected and Hidden Narratives	215
5.2.1	<i>Curling’s Neglect of “Race” and “Whiteness”</i>	217
5.2.2	<i>Curling’s Indigenous Silence and Hidden Colonialism</i>	225
6.0	Conclusions	234
6.1	Seeing Curling’s Narratives Through New Eyes	235
6.2	Exploration Using Counternarratives	238
6.3	Writing as Analysis	242
6.4	Performance Text as Creative Analytic Practice	244
6.5	Scenarios as Construct to Explore Alternative Perspectives	247
6.6	Implications for Practice and Future Inquiry	248
7.0	References	252
8.0	Appendices	287
	Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Letter	288
	Appendix B: Consent Letter for Participants	290
	Appendix C: Consent Letter for Club President	294
	Appendix D: Interview Guide	297

1.0 Introduction

Sport symbolizes a site of social and cultural exchange, with immense power over and influence on our social arrangements (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Kidd, 2013c). The modern sporting landscape exerts influence through economic, political, and social intra-connections with broader society. It can construct our identities, shape our relationships, inform our social exchanges, transform our ways of being, and generate structures imbued with cultural meaning. Sport maintains a privileged position in many countries (Bourdieu, 1978; Edwards, 2010; Hughson et al., 2005). The sentiment of national identity can be seen represented through sport, often by one particular sport. For example, in Canada, the sport of hockey is promoted as a national sport through media and policy discourse (Kidd, 2013b). Sport appears to add to our cultural mosaic and enrich Canadian society.

However, sport also possesses negative or limiting qualities, which are often neglected or ignored, such as the economic burden of mega-events (Donnelly, 2000; Kidd, 2013d; O'Bonsawin, 2010), falling participation rates (Ifedi, 2008), increasingly costly infrastructure investment (Kidd, 1996), as well as changing demographics and the resulting exclusion/lack of opportunity for certain demographics to participate (Brownson et al., 2005; Coakley et al., 2009; Donnelly & Kidd, 2003). These outcomes result in tensions within sporting systems related to access to programming, financial support, and governmental roles and responsibilities.

The inquiry considers how the example of curling demonstrates a valuable context to explore social issues. To begin, a brief description of the sport is offered to contextualize the discussion. Curling is a sport that is played on a rectangular sheet of ice, where two teams made up of four individuals face off against one another (Creelman, 1950; Willoughby & Kostuk, 2004). Each team delivers curling stones or ‘rocks’, sliding them down the length of the surface towards a target or rings. The object of the game is to place as many rocks as possible closest to the centre of the rings. The target, referred to as the ‘house’, is represented by four concentric rings (Barrick et al., 2016; Pezer, 2003; Willoughby & Kostuk, 2004). It resembles the target areas for shuffleboard and other simple games that link back to curling’s early roots and Victorian tradition (Creelman, 1950; Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001). The teams alternate sending their rocks, which are “circular disks of polished granite” (Willoughby & Kostuk, 2004, p. 117) down the ice surface. Brooms or brushes are used to shape the path that the stone takes down the ice sheet. Accomplished ‘sweepers’ are able to drastically maneuver each stone into strategic positions helping to keep their teams’ stones closest to the centre of the rings (Pezer, 2003; Willoughby & Kostuk, 2004). It is the strategic challenge of directing stones to positions that protect a team’s rocks in the house that affords curling a description of “chess on ice” (The Curling News, 2007). The sport also offers a highly social setting where teams often enjoy conversations between throwing rocks; it also maintains a tradition that encourages social interactions after play.

Curling is often characterized as “an accessible sport...often portrayed as small-town, classless, gender-neutral, and open to all” (Mair, 2007, p. 40) and as being quintessentially Canadian (Barrick et al., 2016; Mair, 2007). The demographic of curling participants is predominantly White, male, English-speaking, and heterosexual (Curling Canada et al., 2015). Curling’s legacy aligns with a particular vision of Canadian culture and national identity consistent with images of ice and snow, early European settlers, and a rugged, frontier mentality (Kidd, 1996; Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001).

However, curling is facing an uncertain future. The growth and maintenance of sport participation is of concern for many clubs (Benn & Pfister, 2013; Berger et al., 2008; Long et al., 2005; Mueller et al., 1962; Sawrikar & Muir, 2010; Statistics Canada, 2011a). Curling is grappling with the issue of participation, with some areas and clubs in decline, while others are experiencing a resurgence and steady growth (Mair, 2009; Statistics Canada, 2011a).

Historically, curling is attached to longstanding tradition and legacy, with a strong connection to Scotland, where the sport originated. This strong legacy connects many participants to cultural roots in their ancestry and European origins. However, for new Canadians from non-European countries, a lack of visible representation may deter participation, as they may feel less comfortable in spaces where they don’t see themselves reflected. Leaders involved with curling must reconcile its rich legacy with the need to provide a safe, open, and inviting environment for new, diverse membership in order to maintain and grow participation in the sport.

Structurally, curling is governed by Curling Canada, which is the national sport organization (NSO) and administers the sport at the federal level. Additionally, provincial sport organizations (PSOs) exist to help guide a national mandate at a provincial level. Local non-profit and commercial curling clubs purchase membership to the PSO, which provides access to certain privileges, such as group insurance and funding, and competition/league structure. However, curling clubs may also operate independently of both provincial and national administrative bodies, which further complicates establishing a consistent mandate for sport development. The mandate of Curling Canada reflects the initiatives and policies of the Canadian government, such as a commitment to promoting a multicultural, accessible environment that reflects all Canadians (Curling Canada, 2019b). Specifically, Curling Canada's vision states:

In the year 2014 and beyond, curling in Canada – from the grassroots to the highest levels of competitive play – will be strong and vibrant. Curling clubs and Associations in Canada will offer a wide variety of participation opportunities for all residents of their communities. Opportunities to participate will reflect *the changing needs of the cultural mosaic and lifestyles of Canadians*, and allow for a healthy cross section of recreational through competitive play. Furthermore, the management practices of clubs, member associations and Curling Canada will parallel those of successful businesses by always keeping the best interests of curlers in mind.”

[emphasis added] (Curling Canada, 2019b)

The challenge for NSOs and PSOs is how to achieve this vision while maintaining tradition and legacies, both of which may appear at odds with advancing a cultural mosaic that may not reflect its history (M. Harris, 2015; S. Harris et al., 2009).

For many NSOs and PSOs in other sports, maintaining and growing participation is also a central objective, particularly as many organized sports in Canada, such as hockey, are experiencing a decline in participation rates (Hockey Canada, 2017; IIHF, 2019a, 2019b; Statistics Canada, 2011a, 2011b). Several factors are implicit in the decline, such as declining birth rates impacting the rate of youth participation, and increasing immigration influencing particular sport preferences and familiarity (Adair, 2011; Chatman et al., 1998; Dashper & Fletcher, 2013), as well as cost – a major factor for the declining participation rates in minor hockey (Ellsworth, 2009; Hockey Canada, 2012, 2017; Therien, 2012). The emergence of alternative forms of leisure pursuits, such as video games, has also marked a shift away from participation in sport overall (Breuer et al., 2011; Casey et al., 2009; Casper & Stellino, 2008; Chun et al., 2012; Dashper & Fletcher, 2013; Heo et al., 2012).

For all sports, attracting new participants is important to address attrition and grow the sport overall (Norman et al., 2015). Curling Canada has recognized that one area of possible growth is to attract new populations to the sport that may be considered non-traditional, such as new Canadians or visible minorities (Curling Canada et al., 2015; Mair et al., 2010; Barrick et al., 2016).

The sport of curling offers a rich landscape to explore notions of club culture and how individual stories reveal tensions between the perpetuation of legacy and Canada's changing demographic landscape. This exploration opens up a broader discussion about sport as a reflection of Canadian society: what constitutes Canadian identity or identities, and how might those be expressed through sport? There is a tension

surrounding how legacies are maintained in the face of newer, “non-traditional” participants. This presents an exciting area for research, and an opportunity to generate insights into how sport needs to adapt to accommodate and include all Canadians. Indeed, the curling club represents a location where culture(s) are constructed and expressed, physical and socially. Further, the intensely social nature of curling makes it attractive as a site for research, where longstanding, well-developed social arrangements and culture(s) can be observed (Berger et al., 2008; Breuer et al., 2011). It is also a place where social exchanges occur and are subject to influences from the wider society (Cornforth et al., 2015; Coule, 2015; Stichweh, 2013). The next section reviews the purpose of the inquiry and how curling represents a valuable context for research in sport.

1.1 Purpose of Inquiry

As Canadian society continues to become increasingly diverse, curling and curling clubs face a challenge. If curling presents as a quintessentially Canadian sport yet fails to mirror the growing diversity within Canada, a dilemma emerges: how best can we change the sport so all Canadians can *see* themselves? This change must produce conditions that are sensitive, welcoming, and inclusive for participants (Sawrikar & Muir, 2010; Benn & Pfister, 2013; Dortants & Knoppers, 2013). However, existing tradition, arguably vital to maintain for many people involved in the sport must also be considered (Leipert et al., 2011; Mair, 2007; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001).

The purpose of the research project was to explore the experiences of curlers and to situate those experiences within a critical investigation of curling club culture(s).

Two curling clubs in Ontario served as locations for the inquiry. The participants' stories were collected through interviews where photos selected by the participants seeded discussion and provided a frame to probe their experiences. Overall, the inquiry was guided by the following set of questions:

- (1) What are the experiences of curlers in curling clubs?
- (2) What aspects of organizational culture in curling clubs are revealed through curlers' personal experiences?
- (3) How do notions of curling culture(s) create, maintain, reflect, and/or disrupt dominant cultural narratives regarding this sport?
- (4) How might understandings of organizational culture within curling clubs offer insights into inclusivity within the sport?

1.2 Structure of Dissertation

The dissertation is organized into six chapters. In [Chapter One](#), I review the context and purpose of the inquiry, as well as the structure of the dissertation. In [Chapter Two](#), I discuss relevant literature related to sport, culture, and diversity. These subject areas are broken down further to explore the intersection of sport tradition and culture, the role of the curling club as a community sport organization, and the relevant discourses regarding sport and diversity. Additionally, I review the tenets of

poststructuralism that framed my philosophical position, and guided the design of the methodology, analysis, and representation for this inquiry.

In [Chapter Three](#), I discuss narrative inquiry as methodology, which was used in the analysis and representation of the findings. This includes a detailed explanation of performance text, which was used to illustrate the narratives identified from the analysis. In [Chapter Four](#), I present the performance text. The text is organized into three scenes, each with an introduction to orient the reader, then the text itself, followed by director's notes, which are designed to spark discussion and interpretations from the reader.

In [Chapter Five](#), I offer my interpretations and insights formulated during the analysis. First, I highlight the dominant narratives that were revealed from the participants' experiences in curling. Additionally, I discuss two counternarratives that emerged. These illustrate a neglect, or an omission of key topics vital for the examination of diversity and sport. Finally, in [Chapter Six](#), I present the substantive and methodological contributions of the inquiry. The chapter concludes the dissertation by highlighting recommendations for further research.

A Note About Language

The word “race” and “whiteness” are enclosed in quotations to draw attention to their reification and taken-for-granted-ness in our society (St. Pierre, 2000). It serves as a call to re-examine their meanings as relational and subjective (Derrida, 1976), and force scrutiny of their supposed permanence and the incontestable fixity of their Truths (Berbary, 2017; St. Pierre, 2000). Further, I use the quotations throughout the document to remind the reader of the conflict and tension surrounding these words.

Black and *White* are also used in the document without quotations and as proper nouns. Black is capitalized to convey a meaning that is tangible, identifiable, cohesive and in contrast to White dominant culture. Thus, Black represents a political grouping for resistance against the discrimination and oppression of people of colour (Carrington, 2010; S. Hall & Du Gay, 1996). I capitalize White as an approach to focus on the dominance and privilege “whiteness” occupies in Canadian society (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). It requires interrogation of its meanings, assumed power, and privilege. It calls White out into the open, where it can no longer remain invisible or unexamined. Yet, the use of these terms is problematic and incomplete. As social constructions, they do not properly account for the diversity, variations, and multiplicity inherent in the notion of racial classification, and thus should be persistently challenged.

2.0 Literature Review

The scholarship concerning the role of sport in society is vast and multi-disciplinary. Sport represents a pervasive cultural form that deeply affects our ways of being, values, and behaviours. Even at the level of language, colloquialisms taken from sport have become so commonplace, they are seemingly impervious to scrutiny: “drop the ball” “there is no I in team,” “down to the wire,” or “the gloves are off.” It follows that as expressions of culture, sport tradition, symbology, and mythologies shape and reinforce values and beliefs, such as the virtue of competition, rules, and modes of play. Further, the impacts of sport also influence broader societal values (e.g. Coakley, 2007; Coakley & Dunning, 2000), historical legacies persisting in societal conditions at present (e.g., Kidd, 2013a; Hargreaves, 2007), and how systems of sport reinforce dominant cultures in Canada (e.g. Hughson, 2009; Hughson et al., 2005; Rail, 1998), particularly implemented through management or administration operations, governance, and organizational cultures (e.g., Barrie, 2004; Shilbury, Ferkins, & Smythe, 2013; Thibault & Babiak, 2005; Slack & Hinings, 1992). Indeed, sports studies draw from various disciplinary traditions, such as History, Sociology, Management, Anthropology, and Psychology, which have all made important contributions to discourses concerning sport, culture, and diversity (Edwards, 2010; Jarvie, 2006; T. Taylor, 2001; Bourdieu, 1988, 1978).

The breadth and range of social science thinking within sports studies reveals that sport and culture research requires interdisciplinarity, which is vital for critical evaluation and exploration of these complex discourses. As such, this literature review

deals with relevant research across different theoretical disciplines, but all of which are related to the discourses of sport, culture, and diversity. The chapter is broken into four sections: [sport tradition and culture](#), [community sport organizations and culture](#), [sport and diversity](#), and [poststructuralism as theoretical underpinning](#). I begin with a discussion of key literature relevant to discourses of sport and culture, and of how researchers have assessed the impacts of sport on broader society. The discussion moves on to how scholars have come to understand the role of tradition in sport and how tradition enshrines symbology, mythologies, and narratives vital to maintaining culture(s). Next, I review the community sport club and its involvement in the formation of sport cultures. Then, I explore the discourses of sport and diversity, with attention to how scholars have dealt with the notions of “race,” “whiteness,” and colonialism as? related to a critical examination of dominant culture(s) in Canada. The final section of this chapter finds these concepts framed within an overview of poststructuralism, which served as an overarching theoretical stance informing the inquiry.

2.1 Sport Tradition and Culture

The compelling relationship between sports traditions and the cultures where they operate is of great importance as to which narratives are constructed and maintained by sport participants. Indeed, tradition forms an inherited continuity between past and present. This section examines the role of tradition and its influence on sport culture. Further, I review how scholars have examined the notion of tradition as

integral to particular organizations and relevant to the broader discourses of sport and culture.

2.1.1 *Symbols and Artifacts in Sport Tradition*

Sport organizations are decidedly tied to symbols and artifacts within their locations, such as logos on uniforms or trophies and photos on walls. Further, those symbols and artifacts are implicated in a sport's traditions, which in turn shape and maintain the cultures that are experienced within those organizations. Organizational Theory offers explanations appropriate to better understand the relationship between an organization and its symbols, and to evaluate this relationship in a sport setting. As Schmirch (1983) theorized, "socially held ideals and beliefs manifest an organization's values or patterns of belief through symbolic devices such as myths, rituals, stories, and specialized language" (p. 344). For sport researchers, understand how "symbolic devices" informing sport tradition and their relationship to sport culture has received considerable attention, particularly as to how those symbols relate to values and beliefs that impact the sport (Birrell, 1981; Casselman-Dickson & Damhorst, 1993; Massarelli & Terret, 2012). It is the interrogation of the symbols and artifacts as they appear in organizations that is valuable for research, and how those devices construct meaning, instruct behaviours of members, and influence the operations of sport organizations.

Indeed, Birrell (1981) offered a simple explanation of symbols, but with the implication that tradition animates powerful forces within sports cultures, as "[s]ymbols are, simply, things which stand for other abstractions... [t]hey are vehicles encoded

with meanings, which serve as the basic units of meaning in rituals” (p. 357).

Casselman-Dickson and Damhorst (1993) linked the symbolic relationship of athletic clothing with notions of competence and higher skill-levels, which reinforced its necessity in sport tradition. Further, Massarelli and Terret (2012) looked at the relationship of symbols and the beliefs that they emphasize for athletes. Thus, probing the symbols used in sport reveals meanings and ways of knowing created and maintained by their use. The use of symbols in sport culture may also epitomize a community’s values and beliefs. For example, Birrell (1981) researched the effects of symbols on community related to its athletes, where he was concerned with how the athlete was enlisted to represent the codified morals and values of the community:

Sport has ritual significance when character based on valued social attributes is demonstrated. In such situations, the athlete is an exemplary figure who embodies the moral values of the community and thus serves as a symbol of those values. (p. 373)

The athlete, through their actions and success, becomes not only an actor competing in sport, but a representative symbol of the desires, beliefs, and values that are essentialized in that community’s culture. Additionally, symbols are deployed significantly in a sport’s rites and rituals. As Yearwood (2018) argued, such rituals both connect people through a sense of community and belonging, but also can hide negative considerations, such as “historical conflicts or discriminatory practices” (p. 680). Thus, the symbols tied to tradition not only provide meaning based on their appearance, but

also may promote the values and beliefs of the community linked to a given sport, even if in less disclosed ways.

The role of artifacts in sport clubs is an important consideration, particularly in the case of curling as curling clubs are often adorned with trophies, banners, and photographs (Mair, 2007; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001). As Mills and Hoeber (2013) pointed out, more extensive research in this area was necessary; even though artifacts are prevalent in sport clubs, little attention had yet been given to their impact in the sport club setting (p. 484). Their research looked at symbols in the context of skating clubs and, significantly, at the roles of those in positions of power within them, to query how symbols were used and how they affected the clubs' constituency:

It is important that coaches, administrators, and executive members are in agreement about the messages (e.g., promoting club values and goals) they wish to portray with the artifacts, and consciously create, develop, enhance, or remove artifacts to establish an environment that matches the intended messages. (Mills & Hoeber, 2013, p. 494)

However, as Mills and Hoeber make clear, the power of the meanings attached to artifacts and symbols found in sport clubs cannot be underestimated, as their influence on sport culture can inspire emotional bonds, nostalgia, and identification with a sport's history. In Mills and Hoeber's research, artifacts were tellingly displayed, with attention devoted to their association with success in the minds and hearts of many people in the organization. Their prominence was associated with honour, pride, and reputation, as "[a]rtifacts shaped the culture of a local sport club in ways that created a unified sense

of pride and belonging (to the unique arena)” (Mills & Hoerber, 2013, p. 494).

Importantly, Mills and Hoerber’s (2013) research also offered an understanding of the culture related to organizational culture, as investigating artifacts helped to uncover the values and beliefs of an organization (p. 484), where the symbols invoked pride, prestige, and a sense of belonging to a club.

Moreover, artifacts and their use are linked to sport tradition even when they are encountered outside the confines of the sports club. In Canada, imagery and artifacts related to hockey flow outside arenas and into public life, whereby they reinforce strong connections to tradition and legacy, without requiring direct participation in or viewing of the game, As Gregory (2010) made clear:

Images of outdoor hockey, particularly in Canadian popular culture, are ubiquitous. Representations of ruddy-faced children playing on a mythological frozen farmyard pond/backyard rink/urban community rink are plentiful, be it on a Tim Horton’s coffee tin, on a Hockey Night in Canada title montage, or, of course, on the back of a Canadian five dollar bill. (p. 29)

The artifacts that adorn a sport club have a powerful impact, whereby the character or identity of club life is represented and reinforced (Mills & Hoerber, 2013). Further, Mills and Hoerber (2013) noted a connection between artifacts and the notion of club membership. Artifacts supported strong bonds among members, and denoted a mechanism to reinforce their shared values (Mills & Hoerber, 2013, p. 489). Whether it is a photo on the wall, imagery on the table in the lounge, or more mainstream media campaigns, artifacts and tradition are tightly woven into the narratives of sport. As such,

examination of such items requires a critical eye to unpack their relationship to organizations and their cultures.

For curling, a review of the symbols and artifacts in the context of the curling club offers insights into the role a club plays in its community. Mair's (2009) exploration of the role of curling clubs in the lives of members of rural communities shed light on how the club becomes more than a place to recreate. Rather, it embodies a sense of home and comfort for its membership:

The club was fashioned like an old recreation room and reminded me of my family basement. The cool air smelled of old dust. Old worn but comfortable looking couches were placed in one corner with a television and comprised the 'kid's area.' The bar dominated another corner and the walls were covered in pictures, trophies and plaques. (p. 455)

In this excerpt, the depiction of a curling club environment is expertly crafted as family-friendly, comfortable, but also reminiscent of the member's own childhood residences.

As Mair (2009) indicated:

The physical layout of the clubs, described as a 'family rec room,' conveys a comfortable homey atmosphere. Of course, sociability, especially laughter, conversation and storytelling are fundamentally important to club life. The clubs foster an atmosphere of playfulness with a spirit of lighthearted teasing and fun." (pp. 461–462)

However, as Mills and Hoerber (2013) pointed out, although artifacts may be seen by internal members as representative of their values, for others outside a club's

dominant culture, those same artifacts may not elicit the same feelings. In fact, they may hinder the possibility of connection: “by engaging participants with a variety of goals and abilities in discussions about this specific artifact, it was clear some participants were not inspired by the artifact, and in fact some felt left out as a result” (p. 494). Thus, researchers have shown that the artifacts implicated with tradition may produce a welcoming environment, or conversely, serve to deter newcomers from joining or seeing themselves belonging.

2.1.2 *Notions of Timelessness and Permanence in Sport Tradition*

Sport tradition has temporal and locational references that often assist in the construction of a legacy. Maguire (2011) likened this factor to a ‘sense of invented permanence’:

The association of sport with a specific place and season also provides a sense of *heimat*, a sense of invented ‘permanence’. Think of Wimbledon, Super Bowl Sunday, the US Masters at Augusta and, for the English, test cricket from Australia during a European winter. These sport occasions are counterpoints to change. [emphasis in original] (p. 990)

The consistency of an annual or seasonal event contributes to feelings that such events have always been there and have always been that way. That association of permanence for sport reifies tradition and truncates the possibility of dislodging them to make way for something new.

In Canadian curling, the national championships for men (the Brier) and women (the Scotties) are annual events that have a temporal reference. They have a strong resonance with curlers and are widely televised, making access nationwide. Both tournaments reinforce the sense of permanence, not only as annual events, but also due to their celebrated and prolific history in Canada (Maxwell, 1980; Pezer, 2003). Indeed, these events have been operating annually for a considerable length of time, The Brier since 1927 (Maxwell, 1980), and the women's annual national championship since 1961, which was renamed Scott Tournament of Hearts in 1982 (Curling Canada, 2019a), and referred to as The Scotties Tournament of Hearts since 2007 (Bailey & Redmond, 2010). Thus, their longevity and annual occurrence entrenches these events in curling lore and popular culture, and influences the feelings and images people associate with them. However, attachment to the permanence of tradition often makes change difficult within sport. As Adams and Leavitt (2018) noted, "fans already have strong emotional connections to the specific names, colors, and insignias of the teams they follow; thus, any changes to them may engender a strong reaction to said change" (p. 378). Their research established that the entrenchment of masculinity in hockey hindered developments with respect to making hockey more accessible for women. Thus, tradition that seems permanent makes delinking the past more challenging, as it is not just the traditions that are forced to change, but also the emotions they invoke for those involved.

However, tradition can also mask changes that do occur, and how current trends have reshaped sport; traditional views or nostalgia often fail to update. For example, the

strong tradition of viewing hockey with nostalgia for the outdoor rink: this sentiment has been entrenched in hockey's legacy, so much so that even the NHL has several outdoor games as part of their regular schedule (Ellison & Anderson, 2018; Gregory, 2010; Johnson & Ali, 2017). However, the majority of hockey is played in indoor arenas with state-of-the-art equipment, which has shaped the sport into a skills-based, professional, and success-oriented pursuit. As such, the nostalgia for outdoor play may reinforce a cultural expression that no longer is representative of the present state of the sport:

The indoor rink is an integral device within a current Canadian culture that is seemingly captivated by controlled, organized physical activity. With a continued emphasis on competition, skill-building, and year-round specialization, the modern, climate-controlled indoor hockey rink presents a viable route of passage for a generation of Canadian youths guided by dominant principles of individualism that emphasize personal responsibility and hard work. (Johnson & Ali, 2017, p. 263)

Thus, narratives and imagery tied to legacy or the nostalgic sense of a sport's history may cloud new interpretations of it and miss the evolution of new realities, regardless of the desire to retain its history.

2.1.3 *Control and Conformity in Sport Tradition and Impacts on Inequality*

Sport organizations and their traditions may also serve to deter the advancement of equity practices, and maintain power and control in the hands of those that have organized the sport in the first place (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993; Kidd, 1996; Robidoux,

2002). Notably, Kidd's (1996) research showed that historically, the source of control has been predominantly male and White in the organization of Canadian sport:

While Canadians of every region and background engaged in these practices, it was a very narrow group – urban, middle-class males of British background – that succeeded in controlling the emergence of what became Canadian sports, steering adaptations of British sports to Canada and turning *their* favourite games into the sports everyone played. [emphasis in original] (p. 15)

Kidd indicated that growth in Canadian sport was linked to a particular segment of the population that controlled the organization and regulation of sports. Further, those clubs enforced a rigid adherence to “amateurism,” which codified and romanticized exclusionary practices within clubs, and by doing so, established clubs as a site of rites and rituals that reinforced restrictive practices for sport participation (Kidd, 1996, p. 15).

For curling, the grassroots growth of the sport was tied to clubs which, concurrent with the promotion of amateurism, offered a strong tie to Victorian values and beliefs (Pezer, 2003). Amateurism denoted a love of the game and hard work as an aesthetic quality and desired result. Holt (1992) argued that amateurism embodied a set of values that promoted a sense of “gentlemanliness”:

[T]he ideals of honourable, dignified and respectable behaviour, not boasting in victory or complaining in defeat, not fanatical nor too partisan; maintaining self-control and dignity; performing stylishly and with courage; the manner of victory as more important than the margin; all this

was more a matter of being a gentleman than of strict compliance with the principles of amateurism. (p. 21)

In curling, the intersection of grassroots clubs (and the Victorian values embedded with their cultures) and the characteristics of amateurism continue to be practiced, even valorized in its tradition. The idea that a small-town team, by competing hard, could in fact represent Canada has been part of curling lore and its history (D. Smith, 1981). The notion of a club team winning the national championship, and thus, representing Canada at the international level, illustrates the degree to which association with grassroots amateurism was valued in the sport (Allain & Marshall, 2018; Barrick et al., 2016). However, as curling has moved toward increased professionalism, the possibility of a club team competing on the national stage or representing Canada at the Olympics has become increasingly unlikely (Barrick et al., 2016). Thus, a new commitment to professionalism has reshaped the sport, and in turn, affected the tradition that was upheld and valued by many.

Additionally, Taylor (2004) showed that the tradition within “monocultural” settings, such as sport, may assist with long-lasting reinforcement of certain structures. In particular, he noted the entrenchment of patriarchal power relations in sport to the detriment of women’s advancement and access to opportunities:

The monocultural organization may subtly but powerfully shape and define these women’s experience and ways of knowing and may reproduce hegemonic distinctions between mainstream and so-called other cultural life. The production of cultural homogeneity often occurs in policies and

practices that constitute social and organizational life (such as sport). (p. 470)

Taylor (2004) advanced the idea that conformity was the norm and thus adherence to tradition was required to belong: “[c]ultural conformity is expected, and sport organizations are avenues by which existing inequities are reinforced, legitimized, and reaffirmed.” (p. 472). Johnson and Ali (2017) also explored the notion of conformity and assimilation in hockey for new, non-White immigrants. They noted the overwhelming “whiteness” of the sport as a potential barrier for participation, and source of inequity: “[m]oreover, what is ignored from the ‘mystique’ of Canadian hockey narrative is the homogeneity of whiteness that monopolizes such imagination from its historical beginnings” (p. 264). Furthermore, Schinke et al. (2013) dealt with how sport traditions often mask, silence, or erase cultural differences, making it more difficult to clarify causes of inequality, with regards to “each member’s intersecting aspects of identity (e.g., age, gender, sexual orientation, race, religion). These aspects are often invisible in sport contexts, and yet, they inform the constituent members” (p. 1686). The research reviewed shows a tension and conflict whereby the role of tradition in sport constructs values and beliefs, but also reinforces cultural structures that render and perpetuate inequalities. As Kidd (2013d) argued, “[w]e must also understand sports as sites of cultural struggle, where different groups with widely varying abilities contend to impose the meanings they prefer” (p. 474). Thus, understanding tradition as a form of power and control provides a vital reflection on broader societal trends that continue to influence their composition and operation.

Tradition serves to perpetuate cultural dynamics, resulting in serious inequities along with nostalgic feelings. Taking hockey as an illustration, note the cultivated endurance of the masculinity and patriarchy “traditionally” associated with the sport (Allain, 2011). Adams and Leavitt (2018) acknowledged that regardless of the growth of women’s and girls’ hockey in Canada, there was nevertheless an uphill battle for legitimacy as the longstanding tradition of masculinity in the sport provided little room for new narratives:

Reading the increasing numbers of participants as a simple linear progress narrative assumes a similarity of experience from region to region, access for all, and distorts the reality of many girls and women, a reality that is fraught with discriminatory practices and constant negotiation for access, especially in certain (often rural) areas of the country. (p. 153)

Their research identified the role of sport in the continued production of gender inequity, as well as an overall narrative that hockey remained a male-dominated sport, whereby the lesser offshoot of the game (i.e., hockey played by women) was tolerated and accommodated, but not equal to men’s hockey (Adams & Leavitt, 2018, p. 155). Moreover, Lenskyj (1992) was critical of the fact that women were assimilated into hockey through masculinity: “[i]t has been seen that women’s entry to traditionally male sports has been achieved, for the most part, on men’s terms, and that, rather than women changing sport, sport has, in many instances, changed women” (p. 149). Thus, tradition in hockey has fostered a cultural ethos whereby men are celebrated, and women tolerated, yet “[i]t has proven difficult to meaningfully challenge the historical dominance of men’s (and boys’) hockey” (Adams & Leavitt, 2018, p. 155). Tradition in

sport largely tends to support inequity, and without critical analysis or attention to how these conditions persist, discriminatory practices are propagated and reinforce hegemonic projects in our society, limiting our capacity for socially just action and change (Adams & Leavitt, 2018).

Indeed, sport traditions are not neutral in their linkage with culture, and therefore must be interrogated in relation to what groups are silenced, marginalized, or underrepresented as a result of promoting one version of the story. My selection of hockey to illustrate how tradition in sport perpetuates inequalities also underscores hockey's importance in Canada as a national sport. The connection between sport and the construction and maintenance of national identity does indeed play a major role in this inquiry, and offers a bridge from the historical past to contemporary applications today.

2.1.4 *Curling's Tradition and Canadian Identity*

Sport has often demonstrated attributes representative of a national identity or character (Allain, 2011; A. Smith & Porter, 2004; Watson, 2017). Maguire (2011) noted that “[s]pecific sports are seen to embody all the qualities of national character” (p. 980). For curling, tradition is deeply associated with an expression of Canada's colonial past and affiliation with Victorian ideals, which have profoundly influenced the sport. As Pezer (2003) wrote extensively, the history of curling and its vital connection to Canada's Prairies testified to a Victorian heritage and value system brought by colonial settlers from the United Kingdom (p. 2). It rooted curling's growth in Canada as a

furthering of their tradition and values, as “[i]t would take the Victorian emphasis on adherence to rules, formal organization, and promotion of character development to elevate the reputation of curling” (Pezer, 2003, p. 2). Thus, the Victorian ideals connect curling to a specific colonial past that continues to influence it today, as evidenced in the etiquette that permeates the sport, such as with shaking hands both before and after the game or self-refereeing. Historically, the growth of the sport has also largely been the result of the development of clubs, as “[c]urling acquired a high status because it was organized into clubs and associations... after 1880, the number of sports clubs in Manitoba grew rapidly, and when it came to organizing, Winnipeg curlers led the way” (Pezer, 2003, p. 6). Curling’s club-based legacy and association with the character of early Canadian settlers is still evident in the sport today:

Immigrants brought other attitudes and values to Canada... Their belief in self-betterment, combined with their high level of patriotism, created the conviction that the British were the standard-bearers of progress. Victorians believed that an Englishman’s ability and strength of character were the true source of his success. (Pezer, 2003, p. 5)

Particular traditional values underpin curling as a “gentlemen’s sport” (Allain & Marshall, 2018, p. 124), where observers might hear players saying: “good curling” before a game starts and “good shot” regarding an opponent’s achievement. As such, tradition is deeply held and continues to be represented in today’s game, where fun and social connections are touted as essential characteristics of the sport (Allain & Marshall, 2018; Mair, 2007; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001; Willoughby & Kostuk, 2004).

Understanding these Victorian origins invites critical interrogation of curling's continuing connection to Canada's national character or identity.

Further, similar to curling, hockey also embodies Victorian values; “[i]n short, advocating for institutionalized sport served as an important means of reproducing a Victorian social order where young men learned to be honorable and genteel gentlemen” (Robidoux, 2002, p. 212). Thus, participation in the sport systems that were influenced by a colonial legacy that required assimilation into the tradition of the sport, and into a presumed (part of) Canadian culture:

Hockey was uniquely Canadian in origin and character... Play was aggressive and often violent, providing men the opportunity to display emergent notion of masculinity. At a symbolic level, it was played on a frozen scape, perfectly embodying what life as a Canadian colonialist was supposed to be like...By the 1920s hockey had succeeded in becoming Canada's national sport pastime. (Robidoux, 2002, p. 218)

For both hockey and curling, tradition is conjoined with a legacy, which often goes unexamined. Although researchers have explored the history of these sports, there is need for further interrogation of the impacts that the idea of legacy has on sport. To wit, the very linguistic origins of the term legacy as “a body of persons sent on a mission” (Online Etymology Dictionary, 2019) denote an active embodiment of the colonial project. In this case, it is the *mission* of perpetuating the values and beliefs of the Victorian era through the construct of sport.

The construction of national identity cannot be considered a “natural” process, inevitable, or a historical given (Allain, 2011, p. 7). Sport’s connection with national identity is neither benign nor representative of certain historical and social conditions under which both have come to exist. As Allain (2011) observed, “there is nothing natural about the invention of national cultures” (p. 7). As the connection of hockey and nature became so fundamental in Canadian society (Kidd, 2013b), the sport/identity construct of hockey took on an essentializing and mythical connotation: “[t]he myth of hockey as a ‘natural’ adaptation to ice, snow, and open space is a particularly graphic example of what Barthes is alerting us to how history can be confused with nature ...” (Gruneau & Whitson, 1993, p. 132). Not only does hockey become rooted in an origin story of Canada’s nationhood, but it also connects widely with notions of wilderness, of taming the environment, and mastering nature (Allain, 2011; Johnson & Ali, 2017; Lorenz, 2015). Therefore, Canadian national sport becomes an extension of settler mentality, immortalizing resolve in the face of a bitter harsh climate as people skate on frozen ponds. Thus, such mythology becomes represented by and attributed to a dominant, White settler of Canada, to the exclusion of others (Kennedy et al., 2019, p. 190).

The association of national identity and nature, particularly cold weather, ice and snow, also speaks to curling’s prominence as a Canadian winter sport. Thus, national identity, and the stories that surround and support it, become inextricable from the traditions that support dominant cultures: “[t]he discourse and actions of dominant groups within a national culture constructs identities that are ambiguously placed

between past and present” (Maguire, 2011, p. 981). This argument yokes the notions of timelessness and national identity, a constructed identity that is neither completely in the past nor in the present. Thus, curling’s historical legacy and connection to a narrative of settler colonialism can be linked with visions of Canadian national identity, and draws attention to the dominant cultures that are comprised by that identity. The association of tradition and culture with dominance is further discussed in relation to “whiteness” and “race” later in this chapter.

Canada’s connection between sport and national identity is also formed as a function of success at the international level; for example, the famed and oft-recalled success of Canada’s 1972 men’s hockey team in beating Russia galvanized Canada’s reputation as hockey leaders on the global stage (Holman, 2009). Consequently, Sport Canada’s promotion of high-performance success is undeniable in any conversation about Canadian sport development (Arthur, 2012; Barrick et al., 2016; Kidd, 2013b). Thus, curling’s inclusion as an Olympic sport (Barrick et al., 2016) contributed to further eminence by increasing the level of professionalism, including athleticism and skill-development (Gruneau, 2017; Kidd, 2013a). Yet, Canada’s success on the world stage was established long before its Olympic status. As Wyman (2014) wrote, high achievement in curling has been a constant for Canada:

In Canada’s glorious curling history there have been so many brilliant moments, so many world championships and Olympics [sic] medals, but never before has there been a time like February 2014. In that magical month, in the picturesque Black Sea resort of Sochi, Canadian curlers

pulled off a feat that had eluded them for 16 years – they won double gold at the Olympics winter games. (Wyman, 2014)

At the same time, curling's association with national identity is tightly tied to the Olympic factor (Wyman, 2014). With the focus on Olympic success, there has been increased emphasis on skill-development and athleticism, which are closely linked to professionalism. As the sport changes, there is a renewed emphasis on elite athletics focused on physical attributes and skills-development (Allain & Marshall, 2018).

As previously stated, sport cultures shaped by Canada's colonial past and maintained through their tradition erase historical injustices, resulting in continued inequalities today (Henhawk, 2009; Paraschak, 1989). Maguire (2011) examined sport's contribution to the formation of national identity, and the "invention of tradition" (p. 980). Tradition associated with sport upholds a vision and image of the sport whereby a "[n]ational culture and identity are also represented by an emphasis on origins, continuity, tradition and timelessness" (Maguire, 2011, p. 980). However, in the case of a national identity, tradition tied to one version of national history disenfranchises those underrepresented and further papers over historical repression, as in the case of Indigenous Peoples in Canada (McClintock, 1992; Paraschak, 1989, 1995a). Though adequately addressing the critical factors relevant to colonial traditions' effects on Indigenous Peoples is outside the scope of this inquiry, a cursory discussion of some of their impacts helps to contextualize my inclusion of Indigeneity, Reconciliation, and decolonization in the research project. As part of that discussion, examining the intersection of sport and discrimination against Indigenous Peoples contextualizes how

inequities persist and are reinforced through cultural practices formed from a colonial past. Paraschak's (1997) research on Indigenous women and sport highlighted discrimination based on their status as Indigenous Peoples:

Native peoples in Canada (and, more broadly, in North America) live life and play sport within a context of unequal race relations. Often, sport has been used as an assimilative practice by eurocanadians (e.g., government bureaucrats, educators) trying to 'civilize' native peoples. (p. 2)

Paraschak's research pointed to the discrepancy in access to sport, whereby those outside the norm, in this case Canada's national identity, were immediately put at a disadvantage and thus practiced sport in conditions of inequity. As curling's tradition emphasizes its colonial past, and an idealized, settler colonial identity, a critical examination of what impacts persist from that colonial past for Indigenous Peoples today is needed. As part of that examination, the role of the curling club requires scrutiny as a location central to the development of the sport, curling cultures, and ties to a Victorian past.

2.2 Community Sport Organizations and Culture

This section explores how researchers have examined sport cultures in CSOs and their positions on addressing issues of diversity. To begin, Doherty, Misener, and Cuskelly (2014) describe community sports clubs as "a type of membership association largely run by member volunteers who organize and deliver opportunities for recreational and competitive sport participation. These clubs are where people are most

likely to engage in organized sport” (p. 125S). Further, Misener and Doherty (2009) identified CSOs as largely non-profit and as “offering opportunities to a wide and diverse constituency” (p. 457). CSOs are often labelled as grassroots organizations that serve a specific local area, and that identification with public good and community values becomes important in considering the role of culture within the clubs. Local sport clubs are “expected to provide individual and social benefits, such as youth development and community cohesion” (Misener & Doherty, 2009, p. 457). Thus, the CSO represents an ideal location to understand the intersection of sport cultures, diversity, and the organization at the local level.

2.2.1 *The Community Sport Club and Diversity*

CSOs offer a rich and valuable launching point for research on the intersection of sport and culture. Researchers have explored multiple factors that influence diversity within the CSO. Spaaij et al. (2018) argued that cultural change within CSOs often involved resistance to diversity in sport clubs. Their research noted that diversity work often came up against a barrier that was immovable, substantial, and tangible for participants (p. 26). Further, barriers were often associated with disrupting normal operations, changing the way things were done, and creating friction with established members of the sport club (Spaaij et al., 2018, p. 293). The researchers revealed how organizational structures and cultures within the club context constitute barriers to changing tradition or activities that continue to reinforce conditions leading to inequality.

Moreover, Dacombe's (2013) research interrogated the intersection of sport provision and inequality within the context of sport clubs as related to dominant groups. He noted that dominant groups have a considerable effect on the participation rates of those from marginalized groups, as in-groups were less likely to interact with others outside their immediate community (Dacombe, 2013, p. 1274). Thus, the in-group tradition presents a barrier for non-dominant people to interact or engage in activities. The implication of the research is that sport cultures inhibit the interest in and awareness of others beyond that dominant culture. The notion of dominant culture is relevant to the discussion of diversity, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Although CSOs often commit to an idealized vision of diversity and make steps towards that objective (Nichols & M. James, 2008; Spaaij et al., 2018; T. Taylor et al., 2009), beliefs and values deeply held by individuals within organizations may impact success in achieving that end (Spaaij, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2019). For curling, the imperative to maintain or increase participation becomes an important driver for including a more diverse clientele. Given that membership numbers are declining across many organized sports, a renewed source of hope for revitalization comes from the inclusion of non-traditional groups. However, the "diversity mandate" can be seen as a national initiative embedded in the sport systems that govern the local club: "[p]articipation in sport has become highly valued by governments and policy makers... In addition to its physical health benefits, it is often seen as an activity that has a positive social integrative function" (Spaaij et al., 2019, p. 2). Thus, there are multiple

factors that drive a CSO's commitment to diversity and impact the effectiveness of strategies to achieve a higher level of diversity.

2.2.2 *The Community Sport Club and Community Building*

CSOs serve as primary sites of entry where people first encounter a particular sport (Breuer et al., 2011). Notably, Robinson et al. (2019) used the sport club environment as a site to research the sense of belonging and well-being of new Syrian refugees in Canada. The researchers examined the contribution that sport offered refugees' integration into and creation of community. Further, the researchers identified the role of the sports club in offering opportunities for newcomers "to feel involved and included within their new Canadian community" (p. 9).

Additionally, Tirone et al. (2010) looked at enhancing community involvement through sport and leisure, which increased a "sense of belonging and inclusion within their community" (p. 403). Their research identified that a comprehensive approach involving both immigrants and service staff working together yielded the most beneficial results in terms of community engagement and feelings of belonging, but not without some difficulty in delivery at the local level, regardless of the national policy. Thus, researchers affirm that CSOs have difficulty in introducing and managing national mandates, as their capacity, resources, and expertise may not be adequate to administer such policies. For example, Spaaij (2015) noted this challenge related to diversity work in sport clubs, as "[w]hile there is a strong policy focus on how sport participation helps to integrate people with refugee backgrounds into the host society ...

the reality is more complex and ambivalent” (p. 312). A CSO’s commitment to diversity may be part of an organizational vision or mission, but achieving the desired result may be challenging.

The curling club represents both a context for the formation of culture and a physical location where those cultural relations can manifest, whereby members interact, behaviours are presented, tradition and rituals observed, rules and regulations enacted, and social exchanges encouraged. Today, the curling club continues as a site where particular cultural forms are perpetuated (Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001). Regardless of changes to the game (Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001), the underlying, permeating sentiment perpetuates attitudes and values that on the surface identify with notions of the sport’s benefits, (i.e. fair play), but also expunge its historical formation within a colonial/settler backdrop (Mair, 2007; Pezer, 2003; Kidd, 2013b). Thus, the sport club represents a unique location where tensions can be identified in relation to the cultures that exist, and a site to discover how understanding the local context may offer insights into social issues on a broader scale.

2.2.3 *The Community Sport Club and Organizational Culture*

To further the discourse on CSOs and their role in the formation and maintenance of cultures, this section assesses relevant research investigating organizations and organizational culture. To begin, the term organization, as used in Organizational Studies, suggests multiple meanings, a wide range of “types,” and spans both public and private (non-profit and commercial) sectors (Chan & Clegg, 2002). The

ambiguous definition is relevant, as organizations are often characterized by internal operations, which may leave out influences not tied to these operations, such as social interactions among staff (Clegg, 2009) and external influences from society (Haigh & Hoffman, 2012). For Hinings (1996), the modern organization was tangible, permanent, and taken-for-granted: “organizational structures cannot be thought of as neutral instruments subject to processes of rational design... [r]ather, they are to be conceptualized as representations of the values and interests of organizational and institutional actors” (p. 886). Vitally, it is the social arrangements, interactions and activities involved in an organization that become central to understanding the necessary function of that culture and how it may shape the behaviours of the individuals involved.

Contemporary theories of organizations were developed from Weberian notions of bureaucracy (M. Weber, 1947). Scholars have examined the formal and informal forces exerting pressure on the structured arrangement of people, and on policies, practices, and behaviours. This conceptualization was a vital shift in the thinking of organizations as real and tangible: “[o]rganizations are empirical objects, such that we ‘see’ something when we see an organization, but each of us may see something different, see that thing seen differently, and see different things at different times” (Clegg & Hardy, 2006, p. 426). Further, it is difficult to assign a rigid boundary to where a given organization begins and ends, and to where an individual’s experience is confined. The individual belongs both to the organization and to the rest of society and is affected by drivers – often contradictory – in both places.

Further, the influences of organizational culture are not limited solely to the present, as past tradition, legacies, and histories continue to shape current activities. As Clegg (2009) pointed out: “[o]rganizations are not neutral or apolitical... We should think of an organization as a collective life-world in which traces of the past are vested, recur, shift, and take on new meanings” (p. 50). Thus, researchers of organizational culture examine internal dynamics of an organization focusing on “individuals, their behaviours, values, and practices” (McKinley, 2010, p. 49). An organization’s culture (or cultures) is often formed through shared experiences, expressing the character of the organization: “organizational culture offers a shared system of meanings, which forms the basis of communication and mutual understandings” (Martin et al., 1983, p. 65). Moreover, organizational culture is an internal manifestation, driven by external influences acting on the organization (Smircich, 1983). This is to say that social actors (staff, managers, executive, board members) are integral to the creation of an internal culture, but their personal values and beliefs are shaped largely outside the organization (Smircich, 1983).

Indeed, people’s internalized values and beliefs are central to the formation of these cultures (Denison, 1990; Girginov, 2010). Further, culture exists within the organization as social arrangements, artifacts, and processes, as well as the behaviours of individuals and internal groups (Smircich, 1983). Simply put, organizational culture refers to “how things work” or are done in an organization (Schein, 2010, p. 158). This statement is relevant to understanding the role of culture, and its attendant tradition. An organization may intentionally perpetuate a specific set of beliefs through policies, or

unwittingly through the informal practices of its members. Individuals may tacitly or overtly accept company policy yet covertly resist full compliance due to an internal conflict with their own beliefs. Thus, the individual's experiences pattern motivations that may be in conflict with the organizational pressures to conform.

As stated in the introduction, if there is indeed a national vision of ensuring sport opportunities for all Canadians (Canadian Heritage, 2019; Curling Canada, 2019b), the implications at the grass-roots level are messy, as implementing a universal mandate may not account for the unique conditions present in each local situation (Shilbury et al., 2013; Shilbury & Ferkins, 2011). As Spaaij, Knoppers, and Jeanes (2019) wrote about adoption of policy, “[s]port policies that focus exclusively on increasing participation amongst diverse and underrepresented groups will rarely lead sports organizations to embrace diversity and alter discriminatory practice” (p. 10). The conflict between organizational direction or mandate and the role of members can limit the effectiveness of implementing new policy, such as programs to increase diversity. Spaaij (2019) noted:

The discourses about the societal benefits of sport participation/sport club membership and about the value of diversity in sport organizations that dominated the macro level seem to be in opposition. (p. 9)

The complexity of implementing change at the local level illustrates that although there may be desire for it, making definitive and substantive change requires more consideration, and implicates the local club's capacity and expertise. Thus, the role of

the community sport club provides a foundation to further the discussion about sport and culture, and the intersection of sport and diversity.

2.3 Sport and Diversity

This section engages relevant scholarship related to issues of sport and diversity. As with the other topic areas, there is a challenge in determining clear boundaries between subject areas. As such, there will be overlap, such that “race” also speaks of dominance and privilege, and notions of “whiteness” are tied to understandings of racialization. This section begins by looking at the notion of “race” in relation to sport and diversity. Associated with notions of dominance, an examination of some tenets related to “whiteness” are then provided. These two subject areas are particularly valuable for the discussion of curling, a sport that is tied both to the Canadian national identity, and where sport participation is still predominantly White. Last, there is a brief review of literature that deals with the notions of sport and colonialism, as well as decolonialization.

2.3.1 Sport and “Race”

As sport is often viewed as a positive force within dominant culture in general, promoting benefits for all that participate (Kidd, 2008, 2013b, 2013e), the darker side of sport is more often neglected. The erasure relates to discussions of “race” and sport vis-à-vis diversity in Canada (Joseph et al., 2012; Krebs, 2012). Hall (2000) was critical of how “race” (and ethnicity) were erased through the language of multiculturalism and

so-called colour-blind policies (p. 151). Further, Plaut et al. (2018) noted the allure of colourblindness to absolve past discriminatory practices, while promoting equality:

Adopting color blindness lets members of groups associated with perpetrating racism (e.g., Whites) maintain an egalitarian self-image, because it allows them to believe they are nonprejudiced and are self-presenting as such. (pp. 200–201)

Thus, concealed in the discourses of “race” and diversity, sport has become a location, both subtle and blatant, where traces of dominance are reproduced, and chronic inequalities continue to be experienced by marginalized peoples.

To begin, “race” is a challenging and contested construct, as genetic characteristics are misaligned within an essentializing practice of racialization (Hylton, 2009). “Race,” thus, becomes a problematic classification in and of itself. As such, “race” as a social construct has been critiqued as an incomplete rationalization, providing the power of association, while limiting an individual’s complex identity of which “race” is only a part. Carrington (2007) theorized that the ambiguity of the term “race” resulted in a problematic area for research:

Part of the problem in trying to think through the politics, salience, and usefulness of identity is the fact that the term [race] itself is so contested. This is especially so within an interdisciplinary field such as sport studies in which the concept has different genealogical trajectories and sometimes very distinctive connotations. (p. 50)

Researchers have used “race” in conjunction with sport to highlight systemic disadvantages that minority groups experience related to their ethnicities (Adair & Rowe, 2010; Carrington, 1998; Cunningham & Melton, 2012; Cunningham & Singer, 2010; Singer, 2005b; Singer & May, 2011). Furthermore, as a political designation, “race” provides a necessary cohesion and categorization to galvanize racialized communities through a common association. It has thus also been valuable in the fight against oppression, racism, and discrimination within society.

As such, “race” cannot be simply removed as a problematic characterization of people’s identity, as there still is real value in its deployment in research and practice. For example, Singer’s (2008) exploration of “race” in collegiate sport provided meaningful insights into both the positive and negative impacts of African American athletes’ participation in sport. His research used “race” as a lens to identify how athletes experience a range of impacts from participating in sport. It indicated that athletes associated positive benefits with playing college football, some identifying that it offered a way to manage the difficulties and challenges that they would encounter in society (p. 402). Furthermore, Singer (2008) found that Black athletes, as opposed to their White counterparts, were viewed primarily as athletes and not as students. This factor led to Black students having to make a choice to devote more time to their sport rather than concentrate on education and the experiences surrounding their academics (p. 405). Thus, “race” offers a lens through which to examine disadvantages wrought by sport tied to racial privileging and inequities due to the racialization of participants.

Researchers concerned with the discourse of “race” and sport have also examined various aspects of struggle, activism, and social justice. For Carrington (2007), the usefulness of understanding “race” as an attribute of Black British subjects revealed their active resistance against oppressive power and a struggle for equal rights and privileges:

The struggle to self identify as “black British” was and is a political struggle that simultaneously engages and critiques essentialist notions of race, the history of British capitalist imperialism, and the violence – symbolic and real – of the British State against black communities while providing a basis for the desires for freedom and emancipation found within the expressive cultures of the black Atlantic world. (p. 52)

For Carrington (2007), identity tied to racial categorization was viewed as a political position, whereby “identity needs to be understood as a strategic intervention by marginalized communities for cultural, political, and economic recognition” (p. 52) . Thus, identifying with “race” provided power and privilege through grouping and the strength in numbers. It offered protection against potential oppression as well as a means to centralize ideas and articulate a common objective.

In sports studies, “race” is used to interrogate the structure of racism and inequality (Carrington, 1998; Glover, 2007; Hylton, 2005, 2009). Hylton’s (2009) research called attention to how “race” had been associated with performative identities as a means to manage rampant discrimination against Black football players in the United Kingdom. Black players would act differently in the presence of a White coach:

...how black football players developed a '*performance*', a certain socially determined role, tailored to the fluctuating demands of white coaches and managers. [emphasis and font change in original] (p. 14)

For racialized people, being of colour required a relational construction malleable to circumstances. An individual's racial identity, therefore, was constructed in relation to other people with whom they were interacting. Again, "race" can be expressed as a source of action and strength relevant to political and social change. However, it can also be a construct whereby assimilation into dominant cultural forms requires the performance of identity in a particular way as to seem less threatening, or more palatable for those in power. Further, Carrington (1998) was concerned with the role of sport as a means to defend against racism for Black cricketers. Carrington's research complemented the groundbreaking work by C.L.R. James in *Beyond a Boundary* (1963), which also teased out the alliance between Black resistance and cricket. Carrington's (1998) research was centred on the cricket club as a site where expressions of resistance were located. It also provided an important location where Black players could congregate without fear of White racism and oppression (p. 275). Hence, the political role of "race" in the context of sport allowed not only for resistance against oppression, but also served as a means to form connections and community.

2.3.2 "Race" and My Identity

The previous section identified the challenges the notion of "race" has for the exploration of sport and diversity. However, the implications of "race" in my own identity construction needed to address additional complexities. My background as a bi-

racial, transracially adopted individual needed to be reconciled as it informed my notions of identity, in particular, the complexity of “race.” Transracial adoption (TRA) is described as “an adoption that involves the placement of children in families that are racially and culturally different from them.... [i]n modern western societies, this practice largely involves the placement of minority ethnic children in white adoptive families” (Barn, 2013, p. 1273). Many strong objections to the practice of transracial adoption have been raised over the years. On one side, ethnic minorities see the adoption of children outside their ethnic or cultural group as a form of “cultural genocide” (Barn, 2013, p. 1274). Other studies have also pointed to the issues related to transracial adoption regarding “children’s identity, belonging, and culture” (Barn, 2013, p. 1274), leading to a generalized sense that TRA is problematic in practice. It is important to point out that both proponents (of which there are few) and adversaries are agreed that TRA should be a last resort, and that White adoptive parents must acquire the appropriate knowledge and skills to help children develop a positive racial/ethnic identity” (Barn, 2014, p. 1276). Regardless of the recommendations proposed by scholars within transracial adoption research, issues of identity, particularly racially or culturally formed connections, are thorny. It is from this standpoint that I needed to negotiate my own relationship to “race,” identity, and belonging.

Further, I also needed to negotiate an incomplete classification of “bi-racial” to account for my genetic make-up being part African-Caribbean-Canadian and part White. Being visually categorized in public as Black discounted any connection to my “whiteness” (Butler-Sweet, 2011a, 2011b):

Because they don't 'look' white, mixed race children are pressured to accept and embrace their blackness despite having a legitimate claim (such as one white parent) to membership of the white group. (Butler-Sweet, 2011b, p. 749)

Thus, my identity formation was perhaps more malleable to allow for the need to associate as Black in certain contexts, but also provide a level of comfort being in White spaces, as well as a legitimate claim to my own "whiteness." Yet, in broader society, my identification as being White was negated, as my blackness superseded any other racial classification. Thus, exploring the notion of "race" becomes troubled in relation to identity, and in my case, it necessitates a denial or at least refusal of the part of my identity that is White. Hence, understanding the role of "whiteness" in Canadian society is valuable to reveal how it maintains a privileged position, and how it is often obscured in discourses of "race" and sport.

2.3.3 *Sport and "Whiteness"*

Further to the notion of "race," I became aware of that which was in an oppositional relationship to my blackness: "whiteness." In the context of Canada, the notion of "whiteness" is inextricably connected with Canada's colonial legacy, whereby dominant culture was violently imposed on existing Indigenous Peoples. This colonizing force becomes salient in interrogating the sport of curling as its structures (via clubs) and its proliferation has been tightly linked with settler expansion, associated Victorian values, and British ancestry (Pezer, 2003). The role of colonialism will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter; however, it is the implication of

“whiteness” emanating from Canada’s colonial legacy, and the privilege it continues to endow that will be the focus for this section. Accordingly, decolonizing theories are of particular value as they identify how “race” was used within the colonial project and how the concept of White emerged in relation to the Othering of Black. As Mignolo (2005) wrote:

The rule of colonial difference structured modern/colonial power in one specific way: racism operated not as a question of skin color, but as a way of ranking human beings and as a means of taking away their human dignity. (p. 384)

Moreover, in *Black Skins, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon (1952) wrote about this relational accounting of Othering: “[o]ntology does not allow us to understand the being of the black man, since it ignores the lived experience... For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man” (p. 90). Thus, the notion of “whiteness” requires critical understanding to uncover its operations in our present-day society and its expressions through dominant culture(s), including sport.

Within cultural studies, examining “whiteness” has led to the development of two particularly influential ideas: White privilege and White supremacy. In relation to White privilege, “whiteness” becomes a means to express being part of dominant society and hegemonic systems that not only reinforce such privilege but also normalize and naturalize White as the true form of humanity, against which all others are juxtaposed. Long and Hylton (2002) cast the role of “whiteness” and dominance as follows:

The processes of defining a white identity, however, are rather different because of the dominance of whiteness in our society. The discursive power that is embodied through the ‘discourse of othering’... causes whiteness to be ‘inside’, ‘included’, ‘powerful’, the ‘we’, the ‘us’, the ‘answer’ as opposed to the problem, and most important of all, unspoken. (p. 89)

Hence, “whiteness” as a reified centre becomes taken-for-granted and normative, and assumes a natural state where “whiteness” is afforded a privilege whereby it is not necessary to define: “white skin privilege affords racial obliviousness” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 717). Bonds and Inwood (2016) called attention to the simultaneous invisibility and ubiquity of “whiteness” as a racial non-position, such that the notion of ‘race’ is applied almost exclusively to non-white people: “[i]t reveals how whiteness acts as the unseen, normative category against which differently racialized groups are ordered and valued” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 717). However, the notion of White privilege has been critiqued as insufficient to understanding the systemic inequality that continues to shape a system that affirms qualities of “whiteness” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; C. King et al., 2007; Long & Hylton, 2002). Thus, the privilege afforded to “whiteness” maintains a structural disadvantage for non-White people.

Furthermore, as Bonds and Inwood (2016) theorized, employing the concept of privilege was insufficient to understand the role “whiteness” holds in society, and the notion of White supremacy should be used instead, believing that “privilege and racism were just symptoms [that] indicated a more insidious issue” (p. 720). The systems of dominance that reinforce the centrality of “whiteness” in Canadian society bestow privilege and continue to disenfranchise non-White groups. Thus, it is difficult to

imagine redressing inequities with changes that fail to address the position that “whiteness” continues to be afforded. Moreover, Bonds and Inwood (2016) posited that moving beyond a focus on privilege requires interrogating the systemic dimensions of “whiteness”:

The concept of white supremacy forcefully calls attention to the brutality and dehumanization of racial exploitation and domination that emerges from settler colonial societies... An emphasis on white supremacy rather than white privilege is more than just semantics... Rather, white supremacy more precisely describes and locates white racial domination by underscoring the material production and violence of racial structures and the hegemony of whiteness in settler societies. (p. 716)

Thus, conceiving of diversity in relation to “race,” “whiteness,” and dominance requires a greater degree of interrogation of a colonial past, and how it continues to reinforce privilege and dominance. Thus, dealing with the role of “whiteness” in Canada requires scrutiny of our social institutions, including sport.

Modeling criticism turning on “whiteness” dislodges discourses of “race” beyond the perspectives of people who have been marginalized. In particular, it engages a discourse that accounts for the role of dominant forms that often remain invisible in discussions of “race” and racism. By the same token, “whiteness” and its influence within sport systems *produce* racialization and the impacts it has on people who have been marginalized. As King, Leonard, and Kusz (2007) noted, “sporting worlds afford media and fans alike powerful sites within which to account for and make sense of race

and racism” (p. 7). Additionally, Long and Hylton (2002) called for scholars to continue working with the subject matter:

Examining ‘whiteness’ more closely should allow researchers to make it visible and open to discussion and challenge. Moreover, an understanding of its construction generates the possibility of a clearer understanding of the processes and practices of racism, hence a better chance of disrupting them. (p. 100)

Furthermore, King (2005) called for renewed vigilance toward exploring “whiteness” as a construct in sport, and away from some of the overused terminology currently in fashion: “but rather than speak of whiteness, sport scholars have talked about race, racism, and racialization using terms like stratification, prejudice, exclusion, bias, oppression, and dominance” (p. 400).

Reframing the discourse of “race” to include “whiteness” opens up space for a critique of privilege and power from the dominant centre, rather than always from the location of the relational outsider. It helps draw attention to the systems implicated in its sustained dominance, and also challenges perceptions of equality that rely on a neutral place in supposedly colour-blind societies (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Cho et al., 2018; Plaut et al., 2018). The next section furthers the discussion by assessing how multiculturalism is an essential tenet of Canadian policy as well as its implications for sport.

2.3.4 *Sport and Multiculturalism*

Canada's national policy promotes "multiculturalism"¹ as a fundamental and positive quality of its historical legacy. Canada's ratification of the Multiculturalism Act in 1971 (updated in 1988) codified an ideology valuing the contributions of multiple ethnic groups in the formation, development, and future of Canada (Government of Canada, 1988). As such, multiculturalism has been upheld in the mandates of sport bodies in Canada (Day, 2000; Frisby et al., 2013; Kidd, 2013b, 2013d).

Sport Canada promotes a vision of sport where access and opportunities to participate are open to all Canadians (Sport Canada, 2008, 2016a). However, the continued inequity of access to sport has caused criticism to be leveled against a colour-blind multiculturalism that, some have argued, has yet to live up to its promise (Y. Brown, 2008; Day, 2000; Frisby, 2014). Further, national institutions are expected to advocate for and produce mandates to ensure sport is accessible for all Canadians. This involves ideals of multiculturalism, whereby access also guarantees support for diversity in the access to opportunities and provision of sport (Kidd, 2013c; Sport Canada, 2016a). However, sport in Canada still suffers problems of inequality that are further complicated by sport systems with a White, Eurocentric legacy. The following

¹ Multiculturalism is a term used to describe multiple cultures operating in harmony (Bannerji, 2000; Day, 2000). However, this is conflicted in the context of Canada, as Western European culture dominates Canadian society (Fish, 1997). It is important to leave this terminology intact related to sport, as it is core principle guiding access to participation (C. Harris, 2001; Hatzigeorgiadis et al., 2013). Yet it should also be looked at with skepticism and contested, which is beyond the scope of this project.

section provides a brief review of how the notion of multiculturalism has been taken up in sport with a view to understanding its impacts on diversity.

Federal ministries and institutions, including Sport Canada, uphold acceptance and celebration of cultural diversity as core values. Inclusivity and access for all Canadians to participate in sport are guiding principles: “[t]he mission of Sport Canada is to enhance opportunities for all Canadians to participate and excel in sport” (Sport Canada, 2016b). Sport Canada represents a system of sport development promoting both grassroots and elite development, where all Canadians have access to sport, whether that be at the local club or the international, high-performance level: “[o]ur sport system allows Canadians from all segments of society to get involved in sport activities at all levels and in all forms of participation” (Sport Canada, 2016a). The expressed motivation proclaims: “[f]rom childhood to adulthood, sport is part of a healthy, active lifestyle” (Sport Canada, 2016a). As sport embodies (or is meant to embody) the values and beliefs sewn into the notion of multiculturalism, it also becomes of a site for critical analysis.

The notion of multiculturalism is fraught with challenges, which problematize the efficacy of promoting other ethnicities and cultures within the context of a national identity. Official mandates are designed to promote racial tolerance, acceptance of immigrant cultures, and inclusivity of racialized ethnicities. However, the result may produce effects that in fact increase discrimination, ethnic separation, and reification of racial classification. One criticism relates to how multiculturalism fosters an essentialized view of racial and ethnic characteristics in order to separate different

cultures within society. As Wilton et al. (2019) argued, multicultural approaches tend to reinforce an essentializing position on racial classification: “multiculturalism reinforces the belief that racial differences reflect not only a valid and consequential – *but essential* – human difference” [emphasis in original] (p. 682). Further, Plaut et al. (2018) also recognized that policies promoting multiculturalism had more beneficial outcomes related to racial tolerance, but indicated tensions that arise as “dominant, white culture is threatened” (p. 203) and lead to adherence to stereotypes and caricatures of ethnic and racial minorities (p. 204). Thus, the normative or essentializing effects of multicultural policies need to consider how “race” is addressed as a method of classification.

Additionally, Nakamura and Donnelly (2017) noted that examining multiculturalism in relation to barriers to participation, and the multiplicity of identity were valuable in the discourses of sport and diversity (p. 112). Further, Taylor and Toohey (1998) investigated the relationships among sport participation, ethnicity and barriers to inclusion for women in Australia. Their research pointed to continued gender inequality in participation, as “[p]articipation data indicate that females in general have lower participation rates in sport than males” (p. 76). They noted that the structural barriers to participation for ethnic groups paralleled those facing the general population; however, ethnic groups continued to experience inequality in access:

There is a need for many mainstream sport providers to change or adapt their current methods of operation. The system at present is designed primarily to meet the needs of Anglo-Australian males, while women from

ethnically diverse backgrounds appear to be at the bottom of the priority list. (T. Taylor & Toohey, 1998, p. 85)

Taylor and Toohey recognized that while multiculturalism was supported as an underlying ethos, and access was officially open to all, the opportunities offered still focused on delivery that was based on White, Eurocentric models, as “[e]xisting sporting structures and institutions promote the obsolete ethos of assimilation, rather than providing opportunities for cultural diversity, cultural identity and social justice” (T. Taylor & Toohey, 1998, p. 88). The potential for structural barriers erected by national policy was echoed by Frisby (2014), who noted that the implementation of such mandates can be problematic “at the provincial, regional, and local levels” (p. 356). Further, Lee and Funk (2011) pointed to acculturation practices being challenging as the emphasis always defaulted to assimilation into dominant cultures (p. 12). Thus, the implementation of multicultural policies must recognize the difficulty in fitting marginalized, racialized minorities, who already experience discrimination based on their physical appearance, into existing sport structures.

Pertaining to “race” and immigration, C.L.R. James (1963) considered sport in Britain as the setting for practices of assimilation and conformity, as well as a location to identify discrimination, inequality, and racism affecting non-White participants. Yet in the same text, there was a celebration of sport, its transformative qualities, and its capacity to create a hero (C. James, 1963). His work shows the contradiction in sport, where it serves to valorize athletic accomplishments in a society that continues to deny Black people their inalienable rights. Further, although Black athletes did compete in

sport, their opportunities were limited and they were subjected to abuse and discrimination. Additionally, Raman (2015) traced the diasporic effects of sport in the South Asian community in Britain. The research, in this case, centred on cricket, and the complex negotiations participants of South Asian background undertook both to identify with a new life in Britain while maintaining (and enhancing) connections to their country of origin's heritage; "cricket also became a way of narrating diasporic selves, complex identities that expressed transnational linkages and routings. For many, the sport made their migrant worlds 'homely'" (p. 227). This research was reminiscent of Carrington's (1998) examination of Caribbean Blacks in Britain. He noted that Blacks needed to balance their belonging as British citizens, and their celebration of their cultural past (Carrington, 1998).

Moreover, Carrington (2015) called on scholars to engage in the notion of diaspora, "[t]hinking about questions of identity and race through the conceptual lens of diaspora has enabled critical race scholars to problematize the often Eurocentric and teleological underpinnings of globalization theory" (p. 394). Importantly, Ramen, C. L. R. James, and Carrington all cast sport as a microcosm of society, where social issues, such as "race," discrimination, and oppression could be illustrated in a simple, accessible, universal context familiar to most people. Further, the role of the sport club as a location where social issues come into resolution was important to contextualize their research in "race" and multiculturalism. Thus, the above-mentioned research is relevant to a study of curling, as the club setting serves as a site to interrogate issues of inequity, such as diversity.

For curling, there is both a moral and financial impetus to embrace multicultural ideals, thereby encouraging a more diverse membership. Weimar (2015) indicated membership as a significant financial driver for sport clubs through payment and fees, as well as federal government support based on membership numbers (p. 418). As many sports and sport clubs are experiencing a decline in participation (Casper & Stellino, 2008; Statistics Canada, 2011a), non-traditional populations, including new immigrants and/or people of colour, are seen as a potential growth area for membership, especially if they have been underrepresented thus far. As such, Spaaij's (2018) study on diversity in sport clubs pointed to declining membership and the influx of new immigrants in particular neighbourhoods as an impetus for clubs to seek out programs to engage diversity as a means to "counter attrition and decline" (p. 284). Ultimately, Spaaij's (2014) research identified a business case for diversity, as sport clubs looked to encourage diversity for internal reasons, rather than for the sake of a moral good (p. 355). Noon (2007) pointed to the liabilities of implementing diversity policy solely as a business consideration, as just focusing on a financial benefit lessened or removed the moral justification to address "issues of diversity and equality of opportunity" (p. 781).

Thus, scholars have identified how addressing issues related to diversity in sport, moral values and beliefs, such as equal access and multiculturalism, may not be necessarily altruistic in application, as self-interest and financial stability may fuel movement toward a more diverse membership. As sport and sport clubs consider programs to address inequalities, historical factors may also be important considerations in assessing how barriers to access persist. The next section discusses the relationship of

sport and diversity, examining the legacy of colonialism in relation to “whiteness” and “race.”

2.3.5 *Sport and Colonialism*

As noted previously, curling’s legacy is tied with the expansion of settlements throughout Canada, especially in the West (Pezer, 2003). The connection of curling’s tradition and values with the Victorian origins of early settlers has been discussed previously. However, as Bonds and Inwood (2016) identified, certain countries, such as Canada, Australia, and the United States, have not experienced decolonization, and practiced and continue to practice a colonization that is violent and repressive, yet remain affixed to notions of “settler colonialism” (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 716). It is the imagining of a vacant land where settlers tamed their environment as an idyllic notion of Canada’s heritage that erases the violence, racism, and discriminatory repression of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. As such, the institutions that maintain Canada’s dominant culture, including sport, are not only tethered to that settler colonial legacy, but also to notions of “whiteness”:

As a project of empire enabled by white supremacy, settler colonialism is theoretically, politically, and geographically distinct from colonialism. Rather than emphasizing imperial expansion driven primarily by militaristic or economic purposes, which involves the departure of the colonizer, settler colonialism focuses on the permanent occupation of a territory and removal of indigenous peoples with the express purpose of building an ethnically distinct national community. (Bonds & Inwood, 2016, p. 716)

Moreover, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (1952) wrote about the Othering that occurred as part of the colonial project, whereby his identity, worth, and categorization as Black were all in relation to the White colonial Other. For Fanon (1952), hidden within “whiteness” was the assumed privilege and superiority to categorize and demonize the non-White: “[l]et us have the courage to say: *It is the racist who creates the inferiorized*” [emphasis in original] (p. 73). Further, Lopez (2005a) noted that “whiteness” persisted as a “cultural norm for colonial societies,” whereby its status solidified the position of White as superior: “[it] is their common dependence upon – and complicity with – the ideology of whiteness, or more specifically of white (hence Western) superiority” (p. 4). In Canada, that superiority of “whiteness” is in a relationship of mutual dependence with settler colonialism (McClintock, 1992).

The alignment of “whiteness” within a colonial heritage masks the racism, the removal, relocation and cultural genocide of Indigenous Peoples, and the privileging of White, Eurocentric culture in Canada. Thus, “whiteness” offers a conceptual tool to interrogate dominant culture and colonial heritage in an effort to decolonize sport. Researchers may identify the perpetuation of barriers or limitations to inclusion aided by the role of “whiteness” in Canadian society. For example, Mignolo (2005) considered “race” the critical concern within the colonial project: “[t]he basic assumptions are the following: the modern/colonial world is structured by the colonial matrix of power, and that colonial matrix of power has race (in the sense of racism) and not class (in the sense of classism), as the key concept that enables and justifies oppression and exploitation” (p. 382). Thus, the discourse of “whiteness” not only

opens up discussions of Canada's settler legacy, but also accounts for the inherent notion of "race."

The reliance on the wholesome images and tropes of a settler legacy in Canada distracts from the reality of an intentional invasion, purveyed via the myth of an empty landscape, as "empty land can be settled, but occupied land can only be invaded. So the land must be emptied so that it can be filled, in turn, with both discourse and cattle" (Lawson, 1995, p. 3). Further, McClintock (1992) theorized "[t]he United States, South Africa, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, remain, in my view, breakaway settler colonies that have not undergone decolonization, nor, with the exception of South Africa, are they likely to in the near future" (p. 89). Thus, Reconciliation requires Canada to grapple with the messiness of its distorted legacy in relation to cultural forms, such as sport. Grande (2004) noted that awareness and recognition are unsatisfactory end goals, as colonialism continues to permeate everyday life:

Despite these achievements and the overall aim of *recognition* to fetter the damage of *nonrecognition*... such models ultimately sustain colonial systems of power and undermine Indigenous sovereignty by keeping intact the asymmetric relations of power whereby the dominant agent (settler state) retains the authority to "recognize" the subjugated polity (Indigenous peoples). [emphasis in original] (p. 6)

Thus, awareness and recognition, such as public and ceremonial statements of acknowledgement of land rights for Indigenous Peoples is insufficient to address the wider repression that continues to characterize colonialism in Canada (Grande, 2004; Mignolo & Escobar, 2010).

Paraschak's (1989, 1990, 1997, 2014), research on "race," sport, and Indigeneity has been highly critical of existing Indigenous sport research in Canada and the United States, as it has intentionally neglected the discourse of decolonialization, which would ensure "all aspects of the All-Indian system are in the hands of native people. They can thus choose the type of competitive format they prefer – be it invitational or league structure" (Paraschak, 1990, p. 75). Hence, decolonization would represent full and complete control over Aboriginal sport, in all capacities. Yet the notion of Canadian decolonialization is further by an official stance of multiculturalism where governmental policy, generations of immigration, and its embrace of multiculturalism as part of the national character (Day, 2000; Goldberg, 2002; Venn, 2000), but continue to deny the full expression of Indigenous sovereignty and self-expression. As Fanon argued, the process of decolonization must be violent and encompassing, as "decolonization is quite simply the substitution of one 'species' of mankind by another.... [t]he substitution is unconditional, absolute, total, and seamless" (Fanon, 1961, p. 2). Thus, there is need to deconstruct Canada's narrative about its past and its settler heritage as it becomes a contentious site denoted by repressive forces subjugating Indigenous Peoples. Canada's on-going relationship with First Nations, Métis, and Inuit is fraught with historical subjugation, continued oppression, and limited resolution. As such, viewing Canada as decolonized is misleading (J. Armstrong & Ng, 2005). Perhaps there is need to consider of Fanon's view that true decolonization cannot occur without the violent upheaval of colonialism, and what would that mean for Canada. Lastly, French Canada's self-representation as a distinct and founding nation within Canada

further complicates equity amongst “multiple” cultures and intentions of honouring distinct cultural legacies (Day, 2000).

In relation to sport in general and curling in particular, tradition must be critically examined to expose lingering malignant effects. For curling, as Pezer (2003) noted “[t]he real growth of curling on the Prairies coincided with the surge in settlement that occurred after Manitoba became a province in 1870, but the seeds of the game were sown much earlier.... [s]ome references mention curling in the Red River settlement from early in the century” (p. 2). However, there is no mention of the significance of this related to the encroachment on Indigenous landholdings. Thus, the focus of this inquiry involves examining the connection between curling’s past and its present commitment to move towards a vision of diversity, within a context of colonialism. As with much of Canadian society today, the lingering effects of colonialism are chronic, and cannot be disassociated from ongoing manifestations within our cultural expressions, including sport.

Furthermore, the intersection of “race” and colonialism for people of colour is an area that requires more research. Often, overarching narratives of American slavery dominate discourses (Hylton, 2009) along with Canada’s subjugation of Indigenous Peoples in Canada (Grande, 2004; Paraschak, 1989, 1995a). This configuration of “race” and colonialism is also complicated by the viewpoint that “people of colour” are also settlers (Lawrence & Dua, 2005). Indeed, and as Lawrence and Dua (2005) noted, there has been a remarkable lack of appreciation of the complex situation, whereby

Black people benefitted materially from the results of colonialism, and simultaneously experienced oppression at the hands of the colonizers:

[Academia]...fails to explore how the ongoing colonization of Aboriginal peoples shapes contemporary modes of 'race' and racism in settler nations (including those in the Caribbean, where people of African and Asian descent have established political authority). Rather, the relationship between colonialism and the articulation of 'race' is limited to the ways in which the colonial past is rearticulated in the present. (p. 128)

Conversely, Sharma (2008) critiques the recognition of "people of colour" as complicit in the colonial project. The relationship of people of colour and early colonialism has been problematic, as the oppressive forces used in colonialization that subjugated Indigenous Peoples also directed repressive and discriminatory actions against other racialized people (Carrington, 1998; S. Hall, 1996; Sharma & Wright, 2008).

Although Black history vis-à-vis colonialism in Canada has been broadly explored by scholars (Day, 2000; Fleras, 2014; Henry, 2000; Mensah, 2002), little attention has been given to the complication of Black migration and Indigeneity in Canada. Further, as movement towards Reconciliation has brought attention to Indigenous struggles and the troubled colonial legacy of Canada (Cairnie, 2019; Paraschak, 2015; Sharma & Wright, 2008), efforts to decolonize Canadian society must recognize additional complexities in relation to other ethnicities, further troubling an already contentious situation (Ministry of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2019a, 2019b). As such, using sport as a conceptual tool may offer insights and a fresh setting for exploration. Thus far, within the discourses of colonialism, "race" and racism

are often neglected as characteristic of the colonial project beyond considerations of Indigenous Peoples (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Long & Hylton, 2002).

The previous three sections have contemplated the intersections of sport and culture, the community sport club, and sport and diversity. The discourses span tradition, national identity, multiculturalism, “race,” “whiteness,” and colonialism, as well as the implicit conditions thereof. Interdisciplinary analysis troubles boundaries among theoretical viewpoints and shows these boundaries as flexible, permeable, and overlapping. Adhering to a single theory or epistemological perspective introduces a rigidity that this inquiry actively seeks to dislodge. The next section provides a brief overview of poststructuralism as a macro theoretical perspective that underpins the design and practice of the present research inquiry.

2.4 Poststructuralism as Theoretical Underpinning

The following section details tenets from poststructuralism related to notions of subjectivity and multiplicity, furthering and adding more nuance to the discussion concerning identity. Poststructuralism² is employed as a macro-level theory guiding and framing the thinking and understandings of the current research. The philosophical considerations for discourses concerning “posts-” critique previous understandings,

² “Poststructuralism” is used in this context to refer to a “group of thinkers and perspectives that are loosely organized into a coherent category” (Andrews, 2000), named poststructuralism. Although the collection of poststructural thinkers and theories share some similar tenets, their approaches to the notions of truth, self, meaning, knowledge and power relations are diverse, and largely cannot be reduced to a single categorization (Williams, 2005; Belsey, 2002). The theories and thinkers do not necessarily follow each other; often the commentary from a given thinker serves as a critique of aspects of structuralism and post-positivist scientific pursuits (Lather, 1996, 1993; Whitburn, 2016).

including their epistemological claims to meaning and truth, their structuring of subject/object relations, and their positioning or privileging of human beings.

Poststructuralism offers a way to *think differently* (St. Pierre, 2000, 2011) and ‘do things differently’ (Berbary, 2011; Berbary & Boles, 2014; Lather, 2013) as regards research design, the claims that are made, and ‘what becomes of’ (Berbary, 2011), especially in its representation(s) of research. Poststructuralism also provides a useful critique of previous theoretical and epistemological assertions, aiming not to replace or supplant them, but rather to open them up so researchers can reach new, valuable understandings that add to existing discourses (Berbary & Boles, 2014; St. Pierre, 2011).

Scholars identified as poststructuralist are diverse and offer a variety of philosophical perspectives. Poststructuralism explores the onto-epistemological relations questioning “what things are” (Berbary, 2017; Butler, 2011; St. Pierre, 2000; Ahmed, 1998), as well as how human beings understand the world or epistemology (Belsey, 2002; Barad, 2003; Davis, 2004). It is this emphasis on onto-epistemological contentions that makes poststructuralism so valuable within this research context. It helps us to catch sight of and dislodge our assumptions and engage in new (re)framings of often well-studied subject matter (St. Pierre, 2011; Lather, 1993). The following discussion is organized into two parts. First, relevant tenets taken up by poststructural thinkers are introduced. The second part suggests ways poststructuralism was used in the current inquiry into sport and culture, and in its examination of organizational culture through participants’ subjectivities.

2.4.1 Introduction to Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism emerged as a multiplicity: a vast array of theories and critiques expressed as reactions or challenges to – or indications of perceived limitations to – structural theories (Coakley, 2007; Andrews, 2000). Such a varied body of scholarship makes trying to articulate a consistent or definitive taxonomy of “poststructural theory” unproductive. However, there are a number of tenets commonly associated with this set of theories. Poststructural thinking emphasizes the tension inherent to subjectivity, the importance of language as a cultural form, and the *practice* of deconstruction to displace commonly held notions of stable meanings, value, or essential truth. St. Pierre notes, “[p]oststructuralism offers critiques of the scientific pretensions of structural tendencies in all disciplines – linguistics, anthropology, psychology, economics, and so forth” (St. Pierre, 2011, p. 616). Poststructuralism is not a denial of structure; rather, it seeks to question the naturalized assumption that all structures have a quality that is *beyond* what is perceived from the interactions, environment, and cultural forms that interact on them (Lather, 1996; St. Pierre, 2000, 2011). It arose as a critique of the Structuralist thinking proposed by notable scholars such as Levi-Strauss, Habermas, and Saussure (Habermas & Lawrence, 2007; Kelly et al., 1994).

Within Structuralist philosophies, “meaning” was assigned an essential or universal truth derived from the essence of a given object (Kaufmann, 2011; Lévi-Strauss, 1984). This normative attribution could be wholly accessed through objective observation. Poststructural thinking troubled the notion of essential meaning and challenged the idea that meaning was somehow stored in a reified object – a tendency

for Humanistic thinking (Besnier & Brownell, 2012; Habermas & Lawrence, 2007; S. Hall, 2011). As St. Pierre (2013) recounted, normalizing objects allowed for categorization and characterization of the observed world. Dominion over the process of assignment amounted to power, as whoever controlled categorization controlled its meaning:

Their identity politics [western epistemological projects] were often grounded in essentialist descriptions of gender, race, sexuality, and so on and so remained within Enlightenment humanism's enclosure. One of their ['post' theories] first tasks was to recover knowledges of the oppressed that had been suppressed. (p. 648)

Further, notions of gender, race, and sexuality had been fixed, rigid, and permanent via such categorization, with each assigned cultural locations and roles. The tendencies and taken-for-granted meanings thus also relate to the narratives attending our cultural forms, such as in the sport of curling.

However, the poststructural critique of the tendencies of Humanism are not meant as a denial of its use and scope; rather, it is leveled at the normative and essentializing tendency itself (Berbary, 2011; Kaufmann, 2011; St. Pierre, 2000). It is not a condemnation of what has come before, but a call to rethink or bring awareness to how philosophical perspectives have been formed (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 44). Poststructuralism brings things to the surface, or more aptly, recognizes that everything happens at the surface (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; St. Pierre, 2000, 2013). There is no deeper truth that can be established or found somehow outside that which is under

consideration, and as such, it is the intentions, power relations, and interactions among individuals that provide meaning as a relational exercise. It is the becoming of meaning, rather than the stability of meaning or the question of whether it is really *real*, that is of interest. It is the act of deconstructing with a critical eye, in order to rework constructs and meanings (Berbary, 2017), and is perhaps one of the most useful practices that poststructural thinking provides to all research and analysis (Kumm & Berbary, 2018; Belsey, 2002).

The ‘taken-for-granted-ness’ central to Structuralism and post-positivist inquiry could now be opened up by interrogating its assumptions and commonly held beliefs around meaning, knowledge, and truth (Andrews, 2000; Belsey, 2002). Additionally, poststructuralism posits that *structure* is not objectively observable; rather, it can be apprehended through human experience (St. Pierre, 2011; Guttorm et al., 2015). Poststructuralism uses the subject’s own relationships and ways-of-knowing to bring structures “to the surface” (St. Pierre, 2013, p. 649), to show a facet of the whole, from a single individual perspective that can illuminate the structure’s entirety, “thereby flattening assumed hierarchies, allowing structures to become visible and known” (Foucault & Gordon, 1980, p. 114). Poststructuralism seeks to break those privileges apart in order to destabilize power relations and redress their imbalances through a critical treatment of where, who, and why such privileges were given – or taken – originally.

2.4.2 *Poststructural Thinking in Sport and Culture*

Poststructural theories provide a useful philosophical frame through which cultural forms – language, customs, behaviours – can be identified, and the structures that hold them in place can be interrogated (Bell, 1998; Linstead, 2004; St. Pierre, 2011). Notably, language is used to construct cultures, form tradition, and preserve legacy. As such, the language used in the description of sport culture may appear positive, well intentioned, and beneficial. However, deconstruction of this language can expose unintentional silences or hidden meanings. Further, each individual perspective contains aspects important in understanding the whole structure. The whole cannot be understood separately from or outside those experiences, and therefore, each unique position contributes value to the discourse. Further, each unique experience is subjective yet complete, more like a facet of a diamond.

When combined, the assemblage of experiences offers a richer depiction of the structure. For example, each participant's experiences help to form a more complete grasp of the cultural forms that are present in the case of the curling club. As such, valuing personal experiences and the subjective understandings each person maintains helps to dislodge the privilege of research knowledge by elevating what 'they' know or experience to show 'what is'. Interrogating accepted truths while valuing personal perspectives helps to examine the institutions associated with the sport. It questions the permanency and necessity of legacy and its role in perpetuating power relations aligned with hegemony.

Poststructural thinking has proven useful in exploring subjectivities – gender, sexuality, race, class, or ability – in sport. In sport, social constructs are relevant insofar as binary designations rely on incomplete assurances of essential truth. The regulatory bodies of sport, which enforce the rules governing participation, divide sport activities into male and female. However, enforced gender categorizations are neither precise nor permanent. Further, self-identification on the matter is largely disregarded, forcing many individuals to choose to participate as a gender that does not represent their identity. As Larsson (2014) highlighted:

If objects, in all their materiality, cannot be separated from the formal frameworks through which we come to know them... then regulatory gender separation in competitive sport contributes to the materialisation of sex differences, sexed bodies and embodied gendered subjectivities, as well as to the hierarchical order between genders. (p. 12)

Indeed, sport scholars have demonstrated various degrees of willingness to tackle unsettling tensions and conflicts within the field. The critical intersections of multiple identities, genders, and sexualities introduce complexities that poststructuralism can help to open, creating new discursive and critical examinations.

Poststructuralism is the theoretical base that frames and delineates the approach to the entire research process for the current inquiry. As theory, it informs not only the methodology, but also the analysis and design of the representation. As a way of thinking, it helped with my comprehension of “race” and how I could reconcile not only being bi-racial but also being transracially adopted. I began the project with an

expectation that I might erase remove myself, and my complexity from the process. “If I don’t engage in the question of ‘race’, I thought, I don’t have to step into the troubled topics of ‘race’ and identity.” However, poststructural thinking allowed me to explore the complexity of identity, whereby I straddle the onto-epistemological greyness between a world socially constructed, and one describing “what things are.”

For me, the orthodoxy of prevailing Race Theories was insufficient to account for the complexity of identity, or rather my multiple identities. However, poststructural thinking accounted for notions of subjectivity and multiplicity (Butler, 1992, 2006; St. Pierre, 2011). Social Construction allowed political forms to be solid enough to be used as means to address social ills (S. Hall, 1989, 1997). However, I struggled with identity politics; it still felt constricting, even though there was an understanding that categorizations of “race” were troubled, incomplete, and contested (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Omi & Winant, 2015). Poststructural thinking opened up possibilities as to how we, as researchers, might account for the methods being used, claims being made, and knowledge being formed:

Poststructuralism, then, permits – even invites or incites – us to reflect on our method and to explore new ways of knowing... it directs us to understand ourselves reflexively as person writing from particular positions at specific times... it frees us from trying to write a single text in which everything is said at once to everyone. (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 962)

Thus, this inquiry is neither purely poststructural, nor socially constructed. There is a “hybridity of epistemologies” (Goldberg, 2002, p. 30) that encourages ambiguity,

tension, and questioning. That freedom assumed a frame to look at my identities, my “race,” my position, and myself *differently*.

3.0 Methodology

The design of this research project centres on the use and analysis of narrative. It interrogates and relays the knowledge gained from personal experiences in the context of curling. Thus, the methodology employs qualitative inquiry to structure the collection, analysis, and representation. Further, qualitative inquiry demonstrates an active space to lead provocative, innovative research that challenges practice and disrupts entrenched scholarship (Berbary, 2011; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Denzin, 2000, 2008, 2017; A. Jackson, 2013; St. Pierre, 2000). Within qualitative inquiry, the use of narrative challenges traditional forms of knowledge creation, as the story offers a construct where meaning forms relations among storyteller, inquirer, and finally the intended audience. Thus, our understandings are extended through layered reinterpretations, where insights are offered in multiple interactions throughout the course of the research. The inquiry's purpose is to explore curlers' experiences and situate those experiences within a critical investigation of curling club culture(s); narrative inquiry offered an exciting approach to gather these accounts through stories. My inquiry also draws from scholars, such as Elizabeth St. Pierre, whose legacies have reshaped qualitative inquiry, offering novel approaches that open up scholarship to add new voices to our understandings (Berbary & Boles, 2014; Lather, 1996; Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; St. Pierre, 2000). Using narrative inquiry approaches qualitative research differently and offers an innovative way to understand the roles of dominance and of diversity by accessing and understanding participant experiences through story.

As a researcher, I was confronted by my own background, and how best to account for my “race” and upbringing. I found the political ramifications of “race” were reductive, restrictive, and problematic in relation to my upbringing. Subsequently, I found the tenets of poststructuralism to better align with my notions of identity, where subjectivity, multiplicity and contextual relations could better express my situation. As such, the inquiry was informed by understandings of “race” through Stuart Hall (1997, 1996, 1998), Kevin Hylton (2005, 2009), and Ben Carrington (1998, 2008, 2010, 2015), who provided a solid grounding in the issues related to racial inequality as played out in society and sport. However, I also relied on poststructural thinkers to inform an approach wherein the complexity of identity construction could be considered (Butler, 2003, 2006; St. Pierre, 2000) and qualitative methodologies could be troubled (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; St. Pierre, 2011, 2018).

Goldberg (2002) wrote about straddling the epistemological line and submitted that “[e]pistemological hybridity suggests new forms of thinking, new categories of knowing rather than resting (in)secure in settled ways of seeing and comprehending the world” (p. 30). For this inquiry, I borrowed this approach in order to reconcile aspects troubling my perspective on scholarship, and a method to explore internal tensions and challenges about myself and my role as inquirer. Goldberg’s “epistemological hybridity” suggests an approach to reconcile onto-epistemological liabilities of “race,” subjectivity, relational formations of identity, and my own relationship to dominant cultures. I placed myself firmly within the inquiry, as “poststructuralism is a practice...

[i]t is not about abstract arguments or detached observations, but about a practical expression of the limits in a given core” (Williams, 2005, p. 6).

The inquiry design, although influenced by poststructural thinking, was structured using traditional methods for qualitative data collection. However, analysis and representation were areas that lent themselves to creative approaches such as performance text as a means to do things differently. Throughout the inquiry, I approached the process in an iterative and reflexive manner, whereby each interview informed the analysis, and analysis and interpretations were in turn integrated into subsequent interviews. These methodological considerations disrupt the traditional relationship between researcher and participant by challenging the nature of our association. For me, the participants were the architects of the inquiry; they were “provocateurs” (St. Pierre, 2011, p. 620). It was through their accounts that the content emerged. My role was to analyze their experiences and rework the themes, tensions, and desires into a format that would be compelling for scholars and the general public.

The use of creative practices opens up traditional ways of knowing toward new possibilities for analysis and representation. Berbary and Boles (2014) suggested creative practices as a vital part of disruption that leads to social change:

[N]ewer approaches have allowed us to be more inclusive; have provided more accessible representations; have illuminated the need for and provide suggestions for social justice and social change; and have opened up traditions that have previously shut down definitions of research, science,

truth, and knowledge in ways that are less than useful in our communities, societies, cultures, and existences. (p. 402)

Therefore, although the participant accounts provided a rich source of collective knowledge concerning the socio-cultural forms informing curling, their narratives also indicated alignment with dominant and hegemonic structures that preserve privilege, often difficult to see and even harder to dislodge (Gittings, 1995; Lawson, 1995, 2004; Sharma & Wright, 2008). The use of performance text, as a creative analytic approach, is highly productive in exploring issues within curling related to dominance and inclusivity from the perspectives brought by the participants. The participants' stories about their experience in curling opened up unique perspectives related to dominant culture, and broader narratives or meta-narratives about sport, culture, and diversity (Gittings, 1995; Kim, 2013; Trinh, 1989).

This chapter provides an outline of the steps taken in the inquiry. It begins with an overview of the methodology, narrative inquiry, which structured the design followed by a description of the specific methods deployed in the inquiry. Personal narratives were the primary source for the inquiry, collected through interviews with all participants. The interviews were mostly free-flowing, introducing a freedom for the participants to offer their authentic accounts of and insights on their connection to curling. Detailed analytical processing of the participants' stories resulted in the production of a creative form referred to as performance text, which represents the findings of the study. Each of these methodological considerations are described in more detail in the next section.

3.1 Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry is concerned with the *narrative* as an expression of lived phenomena (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Clandinin (2007) wrote about the use of narrative inquiry as a methodological approach to understanding how an articulation of one's life may be examined to reveal deeper insights into broader societal arrangements:

We are the storytelling species. Storytelling is in our blood. We think in story form, speak in story form, and bring meaning to our lives through story. Our life stories connect us to our roots, give us direction, validate our experience, and restore values to our lives. (p. 225)

As such, narrative inquiry has a compelling appeal for research, particularly qualitative inquiry, as it supports the analysis of peoples' stories. In sport research, narratives as a primary form of investigation have been used by scholars such as C.L.R. James (1989), Douglas (2009; Douglas & Carless, 2015), Spencer (2012) and Popovic (2010, 2012a, 2012b). Narrative inquiry allows for exploration of narrative as data, and for the practice of collection to be a space where language and meaning are produced (Chase, 2005). Narrative inquiry lends itself to a critically discursive analysis of story, as portrayals of lived experience are revealed layer by layer, showing details in the story itself, as well as complex meanings through its language and choice of words (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The narrative or story becomes the primary source material for the inquiry (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Through narrative analysis, language is interrogated, and taken-for-granted meanings can be contested. Language has power; language is power (Derrida, 1976). When

language is employed under the sway of dominant discourses, aspects of their authority are reinforced (Derrida, 1976, p. xlv). By deconstructing language and meaning, an avenue of unsettling these permanent forms opens up, and thus they can be dismantled but then reconstituted anew (Derrida, 1976).

I used narrative inquiry as the methodological approach, where participant experiences, expressed through their stories, were the focal point. Their *stories* served not only as informative accounts of personal connections to notions of inclusivity and diversity in curling, but also as broader metaphors illustrating how social themes play out in the face of dominant cultural forms (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 5). Additionally, I was interested in how such language helped shape participant values and behaviours, whereby commonly understood words and phrases also indicated deeper, contradictory, or at least more complex meanings that perhaps were not readily apparent (Bellou, 2013; Derrida, 1978). For me, these multiple meanings pointed to locations where power resided (Foucault & Deleuze, 1977, p. 208) and where inequality could be linked back to dominant cultural forms (Derrida, 1976; Spivak, 1976).

It was important to remember that I, as inquirer, was not merely an observer during the interviews, nor was I acting alone during analysis. Both roles were performed in concert with the participant (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Thus, the process honours the participants as co-architects, whose contributions are integral to creating new forms of knowledge and understanding. In this case, narrative inquiry helped to challenge the hierarchy of the ‘researcher/researched’ (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; St. Pierre, 2000) as I became a contributor to the inquiry and

not just an objective observer. Further, using performance text, which wove my insights into a form of discussion, troubled the idea that my interpretations, analysis, and insights were somehow objective, separate or removed from the material supplied by participants or from my interactions with them during interview sessions. Thus the stories were reformed, reconstituted, and reshaped into something else, allowing new understandings to surface through the process of writing (Richardson, 2018; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; St. Pierre, 2000).

Narrative offered an alternative to traditional scientific methodologies that are often more rigid in the process of collecting, analyzing, and representing. This approach emphasized the story as central, and the construction of performance text as a creative expression of the analysis to offer flexibility in developing and presenting the insights and interpretations of the analysis. This flexibility of the methodological approach was informed by tenets of poststructuralism, which offered a pathway to reconcile multiplicity of my identity, the challenge of language, and the taken-for-granted reification of meaning. The next section discusses relevant tenets of poststructuralism that were employed in the design of the inquiry.

3.2 Poststructuralism as Macro Theoretical Perspective

The introduction to poststructuralism in the [Literature Review](#) chapter outlined how poststructuralism can be applied within sport studies as a valuable macro theoretical perspective for research. Furthermore, its tenets invite a critique that contests the rigidity of structure, which often essentializes and gives permanence to the

methodology and interpretations of qualitative inquiry, whereby results become de facto givens devoid of criticism, interrogation, or questioning. The following two sections briefly introduce two tenets that contribute to the overall theoretical perspective underpinning the inquiry: subjectivity and multiplicity, and language and meaning.

3.2.1 *Subjectivity and Multiplicity*

Poststructuralism introduces noteworthy considerations for human-centred research. Questioning the commonly accepted notions of “self”³ and “subject” suggests a tension for the research process, as to which participant is actually represented in the process. Does the language used by a participant attend to hidden or presumed meanings? Exploring poststructural thinking concerning notions of self, subjectivity, identity, and “truth” troubles conventional research design and approaches to participant involvement. Subjectivity forms the basis for each individual’s relationship to reality, the meanings that are understood, and the social arrangements that are implicated (Bell, 1998; Deleuze, 1991; Dreyfus et al., 1983).

From a poststructural perspective, structures are revealed through a relational, subjective lived experience, which exposes a particular aspect or facet of the entire whole. However, there are questions as to what self or what “subject” is recounting knowledge or understandings (Derrida, 1991, p. 100). The individual experience

³ The following section discusses “self” in order to dislodge Humanistic tendencies to essential the subject. Positioning self within quotations serves as a means to draw attention to its contested understanding. It is assumed that self is always under scrutiny and contested.

exposes the whole of the structure from an individual or subjective point-of-view.

Unlike other theoretical perspectives, poststructuralism presumes that a structure can be knowable in its entirety from a subjective position (Berbary, 2017; Andrews, 2000; St. Pierre, 2000). Nothing remains “outside the experience of the individual” and in fact, the structure can only be known through the interactions of human beings in concert (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p. 4).

Poststructuralism paves a path of knowing where individuals are not seen only as actors with agency, but also as constructors, where the interactions are within the practice, and substantively form meaning (Belsey, 2002). Poststructuralism offers the perspective that respects participant experience – a relative and momentary event – as a truthful interpretation of the structural influences, bringing the ability to know to the surface experience of the individual (Barad, 2003; Spivak, 1992). Privileging the interactions of individuals and how these relations create meaning helps to dislodge Humanistic tendencies towards a self that is permanent or possessed of an essential nature (Butler, 2010; Derrida, 1991; St. Pierre, 2000).

Poststructuralism accomplishes a shift towards a momentary, relational subject, where interpretations of the self are multiple, performative, and no longer contained solely by subjectivity (Butler, 2010, p. 150). By destabilizing the very notion of self, interactions and artifacts emanating from that self can also be interrogated – in particular its use of language. Thus, the self can be understood as performative and relational, and embedded in each context, which further troubles our conceptualization of the identities with which each self identifies. Identity can be imagined as features

thrust onto the individual (Althusser, 2001), and as a function of the language maintaining that identity. As Mansfield (2000) noted, “[l]anguage, if you like, inhabits the body as the subject... [t]here is no simple individual, operating its body like the ghost in the machine” (p. 44). The question of who the subject is, how is it presented, and how the subject creates meaning presents challenges for research and how methodology is designed to accommodate this tension.

As subjectivity becomes distressed, contested, and deferred, claims of meaning and knowing are also in question: “[s]ubjectivity is attained only at the end of a process which has many complex and dangerous passages... Subjectivity is always, therefore, problematic” (Mansfield, 2000, p. 44). Thus, researching any “subject” is caught between the challenge of re-essentializing a subject as solid, real, or permanent, and the uncertainty that attends to re-presenting that subject (Gibson, 1996; Rusk, 2002). Methodologically, analysis based on categories, themes, and characterizations leads too readily to normalizing individuals, confining them to a few prominent characteristics. As Scott (1991) questioned:

How have categories of representation and analysis – such as class, race, gender, relations of production, biology, identity, subjectivity, agency, experience, even culture – achieved their foundational status? What have been the effects of their articulations? (p. 797)

The deferred identity tests assumptions about what can be known of any person, and what is signified by/in their own experience. As Taylor (2006) stated: “[s]ubject position, can be understood as a temporary identity which is conferred on or taken up by a speaker and which becomes both who she or he is seen to be, by others, and the

perspective from which she or he sees the world” (p. 96). Deconstructing the language of personal narratives reveals, revisits, and redefines our understandings of all stories and our connections to meaning.

3.2.2 *Language and Meaning*

Another key tenet of poststructuralism relevant to this inquiry is its understanding of language and of meanings. Language alludes to history, legacy, and dominance within structures, maintaining taken-for-granted understandings. Through the interrogation of texts, and the language presented, what is missing/absent/invisible alludes to other possibilities contained in what is not said (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 17). The data gathering took into consideration that a participant’s accounting of their experience was a fragmented recollection of event. Each participant interpreted, made meaning, and explored interrelations in the recalling of the event that has occurred. Often, the attention to the participant’s recollection can be traced to notions of an “authentic voice” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 4), where the participant’s experience represents a *more* faithful account without need for reinterpretation or inscription.

For me, honouring participants’ authenticity was central to forming a vibrant, rich, and meaningful performance text. Richardson and St. Pierre (2005) explored the connection of language, writing, and subjectivity. They theorized that language was integral to the construction of subjectivity and identity: “[l]anguage is how social organization and power are defined and contested and the place where one’s sense of self – one’s subjectivity – is constructed” (p. 962). Further, the subject could not be

contained as a singular entity; rather, there was multiplicity inherent within an individual's subjective perspective:

The individual is both the site and subject of these discursive struggles for identity and for remaking memory. Because the individual is subject to multiple and competing discourses in many realms, one's subjectivity is shifting and contradictory – not stable, fixed, and rigid. (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 962)

Humanist approaches to knowledge and truth assume depth: knowledge can be found outside the individual; a universal or essential “truth” exists, perhaps in the ether (Crotty, 2003b), socially constructed (Burr, 1995), or internally formed as a “natural” inclination or tendency (Freud, 1989). Meaning, knowledge, and “truth” are seen as essential, knowable, and definite (Spivak, 2004, p. 545). However, poststructural notions of “self” disrupt this tendency as the “self” is constituted through subjective, relational, performative activities (A. Jackson, 2004; St. Pierre, 2011).

Additionally, the linguistic turn associated with Derrida disrupted stable assurances of knowing, as any word does not come with an inherent, essential meaning (Derrida, 1976; Morison & Macleod, 2013). In “post-” theories, the decentering of the subject plays a crucial role in inscribing an alternative view of the individual, history, and importantly the experience of the colonized. It is the subjective position forwarded by poststructuralism(s) that allows for a different reading of “truth” and how we understand our relationship to what is considered to be true:

The deconstruction of language also serves to set doubt into much that humanism holds dear, such as, ideas of ‘freedom, truth, resistance, agency, power’ – as things that are within each human’s grasp and as such are a fundamental ‘right’ to which all are equally subscribed. (St. Pierre, 2013, p. 647)

Such deconstruction of language applied to an organization sheds light on those internalized, common meanings or cultural norms that are seen as natural, fixed, and real.

The linguistic turn⁴ ushered in an interrogation of where meaning is posited and maintained (Gaston & Maclachlan, 2011). As the word itself has no essential or inherent meaning, only the meaning formed through the interactions of individuals is able to solidify what a given object refers to (Derrida, 1976; Spivak, 1976). Each situation is referential, and the meaning therefore is never permanent or accessible, it only maintains that meaning in the context where it is presented. Saussure (1966) postulated “that there is no direct connection between a word and meaning that it describes, rather it is relational” (discussed in Weedon, 1987, p. 23). As such, meaning is not natural, intrinsic, or inherent, but rather is thrust upon a thing through the association of language, and through its context. It follows that meaning can never be exact, always known, but is always transitional. As St. Pierre (2013) noted, “[s]ince meaning must always be deferred, we can never know exactly what something means, we can never

⁴ Linguistic turn is a phrase attributed to philosopher Gustav Bergmann (Rorty, 1992, p. 9). It signaled the movement toward a linguistic philosophy whereby the notions of *language* and *meaning* were not arbitrary, or separate from, the constructions of human reality (Butler, 2010; St. Pierre, 2013). Rather, the linguistic interplay between subject/object and meanings were dynamically engaged in an exchange (Spivak, 1976), which itself constructed the meanings language was designed to signify (Gaston & Maclachlan, 2011).

get to the bottom of things” (pp. 481–482). Poststructuralism allows researchers to deconstruct existing understandings of knowledge: to differently (St. Pierre, 2013) understand meaning by questioning presupposed interpretations.

The notion of “absent presence” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 21) presented as another useful approach to deconstruct the language used within participant narratives. Absent presence references Derrida’s exploration of “trace” (Derrida, 1976, p. 18), whereby the *concrete* meaning of a word invariably leaves “traces” of other possible meanings. This multiplicity forces the construction of meaning towards relational context, rather than a permanent, fixed and taken-for-granted essential quality. For Derrida, the notion of trace was creatively expressed using the strikethrough or marking of text, “... the mark [strikeout with ‘X’ in original text] of the absence of a presence, an always already absent present, of the lack at the origin that is the condition of thought and experience” (Spivak, 1976, p. xvii).

My thinking around “race” similarly gravitated to “always something else,” as what was stated presented one way of knowing, yet there were always other possibilities, seemingly just below the surfaces, that could be uncovered by scratching away at the subsoil. Through those traces – “tracks, footprints, imprints” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 21) – new formations of meaning could be achieved. As such, the notion of White becomes so through the presence of what is not White, and therefore is the opposite: Black, but not created through its own designation. “White” becomes as an

“absent *presence*,” [emphasis added] (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 21) in relation to Black.⁵

This approach was useful to look at the sport of curling, and its overall “whiteness.” and what that implied for the participants’ experiences. By remaining open to the instability of meanings in language, it made “room for a new concept” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 21).

The discussion of the above tenets illustrates how poststructural thinking provides a useful and beneficial approach in dealing with some of the challenging aspects of “race,” multiple identities, and the subjectivities denoting identity construction. These tenets are relevant both for understanding the relation of participants and their stories and meanings, as well as understanding the complexity of perspective derived from their subjectivity. Further, the macro-theoretical perspective informs the design of the inquiry by employing (more) flexible forms of analysis and representation to contend with the position of researcher, participants, and the active role of reader. This brief discussion illustrates how poststructural thinking informs and underpins the inquiry and is useful in dealing with the challenges of intersecting notions of “race,” “whiteness,” and colonialism.

⁵ The examination of “race” and blackness is complex, with roots within colonial conquest. Prior to that era, Black was not an established categorization, but became necessary as a means to vilify, dehumanize, and separate African slaves. As the designation became rooted, so did the notion of White and “whiteness” as a counter to those meanings associated with Black: vile, darkness, subhuman and the like. This discussion requires more attention than is possible within the scope of this paper. However, it serves an important consideration for the long-lasting effects of colonialism in the formation of dominant cultural forms and the impact of “race” in sport.

3.3 Methods

The two main methods used in the inquiry were observation and semi-structured interviews. I relied on aspects of poststructural thinking to guide my design, approach, and perspective. Thus, observation was used to gain a cursory grasp of the curling club environment; in short, to get a sense of what was going on. However, observation is problematic in relation to poststructuralism as the method tends to set the researcher outside of the study and present findings as objective, taken-for-granted, and assumed Truth (Butler, 2006; St. Pierre, 2000). Thus, observation informed my data collection in order to better perform the practice. It did not, however, become a primary source for the analysis and representation. Again, my interest for the inquiry was squarely centred on stories, their impact, and language. I also acknowledged my role within the inquiry. I was not an objective bystander, rather I was someone integrated into the research. I became another contributor along with the participants, not separate but intimately involved in the entire process. The chosen methods conveyed my commitment to engaging participants in a compassionate, intimate process of collecting their stories, honouring their active input into the inquiry, and enacting a practical self-reflection to continually assess, redress, and re-envision my practice throughout the inquiry lifecycle.

3.3.1 *Research Context*

Two curling clubs in Ontario were chosen as sites for the research. The selection of the clubs occurred organically through personal connections, facilitating the access and approval by senior leadership and club presidents. Each club structure represents a

CSO, with volunteers driving many of the operations and activities (Doherty et al., 2014), an active membership, and a range of activities including league play, bonspiels⁶, and social events. The first site was a curling club in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) that had a large membership, but only 8 sheets of ice, which thus limited the capacity for growth. Its facilities were run by a combination of volunteers (i.e., league officials, fundraising, social events) and some paid staff (i.e., general manager), with infrastructure administered by the municipality. The majority of the participant interviews were conducted here (11 out of 16 interviews).

The second club was located in a small town in rural Ontario. The club's facilities were smaller than that of the first (4 sheets compared to 8 sheets) and privately run. The club's membership was stable, but growth was needed to continue to remain financially viable, as noted by its club president. As such, the second site represented a club where an increase in membership was necessary and diversity was a consideration for that growth model. Also, the demographic breakdown of the community surrounding the club was predominantly White, and lack of diversity an issue for its members. The participants from both sites were a varied cross-section in terms of exposure to the sport, from newcomers to people that had played all their lives, to those that had played for many years but picked up the sport later in life. Many of the participants volunteered at the club in different capacities as league conveners, coaches,

⁶ A bonspiel is a curling tournament, which organizes teams in a competition that plays down until there is an eventual winner. Depending on the size of the tournament, teams are bracketed into draws, which organizes the schedule of play, and guarantees each team plays a minimum number of games. (Library and Archives Canada, 2019; Pezer, 2003).

and social activity organizers. Two of the participants represented senior leadership, including a general manager and club president. The participants ranged in age from 35 to 75 and had were notably evenly split between men and women. The participants were mostly White, with one participant of Asian descent. Using two sites offered a demographic variation in order to explore possibilities in both an urban and rural setting. However, the purpose of the study was not to contrast the two sites; rather, it was to ensure a rich variety of experiences to draw from in order to better understand the dynamics of cultures operating in club environments and their impacts on diversity.

3.3.2 *Observation (Club Environment)*

Observations were to be conducted at two curling clubs in Ontario. Club presidents were contacted in order to receive approval to be onsite. However, due to time constraints and the stage of the inquiry, observations only occurred at one site, which was an established club in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). After approval was granted by the club president, the observations were conducted. An information letter was distributed to membership as well as posted in a visible location as required by the University of Waterloo Office Research Ethics. The observations involved attending a number of club activities, including league play, bonspiels, and non-member events. I was also present for social activities, in particular, post-game conversations amongst players.

The observations assisted in two capacities. First, they provided me familiarity with the curling club and its surroundings. They allowed for informal interaction with

members and were designed to be safe, familiar, and inviting (Crotty, 2003a). Through many of these conversations, I was able to gain a better understanding of how the club operated, as well as to collect some interesting anecdotes regarding the operations and history of the club. As hoped, I was able to make a number of interpersonal connections and candidates for interviews were referred to me through those interactions. All informal interactions observed University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics protocols, and consent for any further conversations was ensured prior to any dialogue. The initial, informal conversations served to acquaint me with the club environment and its operations. The observations were not meant to be a prescriptive or a definitive assessment, nor did they explicitly serve as an “objective” perspective from which to draw conclusions (Creswell, 2007; Tedlock, 2003). Rather, the observations proved to be simply another source of material to incorporate into the performance text, in concert with the narratives collected via the semi-structured interviews. My view was that the observations were another facet to help sketch a version of the whole.

This initial activity proved informative. For example, my observation of a club bonspiel provided insight into membership’s commitment to volunteerism at the club and into how many of the leadership roles within the club were performed by volunteers. During the observation process, I spoke informally to members in the lounge, gaining deeper understanding as they described their activities both on the ice and during what was happening between and after games while relaxing in the lounge. I took notes and recorded memos to document insights as they occurred throughout the process. The memos and notes allowed me to remember aspects of my initial

impressions and inform my interpretations, which in turn were useful when conducting the interviews. Thus, the observations provided a basic understanding whereby those topics could be interrogated further during the interview and then analyzed in relation to broader concerns within sport scholarship.

3.3.3 *Participant Recruitment and Interviews*

Participant interviews were conducted on-site at the two curling clubs, with a few exceptions as requested by participants. At the large, urban club, participants were recruited through an internal newsletter emailed to each member that called for candidates to participate in a research study. The information letter approved by University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics was attached to the newsletter with the contact information of the primary investigator. Additionally, snowball sampling recruited further candidates through personal recommendations. Overall, there was a high degree of interest in the inquiry.

Each participant was required to sign a consent form that provided information about the inquiry, including their ability to remove consent in accordance with University of Waterloo Office of Research Ethics' guidelines. All candidates were asked to share 2-3 personal photographs related to their experience in curling to serve as a connecting point-of-interest for the interview. Photo elicitation is a technique that complements narrative inquiry as the photos often invoke memories of experiences associated with the imagery, people, or event depicted (Bendiner-Viani, 2016; Clark-Ibáñez, 2004; Epstein et al., 2006). Largely, participants' photographs were provided to

me in advance via email; I was able to print them and have them available for discussion. There were several interviews where participants opted not to supply photographs. However, as the photos were primarily a “conversation starter,” those dialogues followed a similar line of questioning

The interviews were semi-structured, as a number of guiding questions were used to orient the discussion. The semi-structured interviews focused on the following subject areas:

1. Participant experience represented in the photographs;
2. Symbols and artifacts contained in the photographs;
3. Narratives and emotional responses to the photographs or experiences;
4. Participant language assessing tensions, gaps, and/or taken-for-granted meanings.

The interviews were open-ended and probed relevant topics related to their experiences with and relationships to curling. Although I maintained a stable set of questions, the dialogue was meant to be free-flowing and often it delved into areas that were brought forward by the participant. It provided flexibility and latitude for discussion and for participants to explore their experiences. The interviews lasted 45 to 90 minutes. Prior to beginning, I briefed the participant on the context of the inquiry and my ethical obligations as inquirer. Regardless of where the interview occurred, I was cognizant of

providing the most welcoming, safe, and respectful environment possible. Again, my goal was to ensure the participants felt at ease and able to share their stories.

Interviews, however, are not a benign interaction. There are power relations acting on the exchange between researcher and participant that must be considered in all qualitative research (Atkinson & Delamont, 2006; Barinaga, 2009; Byrne, 2015; Clandinin et al., 2007). An interview resembles a “normal” conversation but the exchange represents a divide between interviewer and interviewee: “there are power dynamics that act unequally during the exchange” (Kenway & McLeod, 2004, p. 527). Even with an established protocol that adheres to ethical standards, the interview process still “asks much of the participant” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 170). Throughout the duration of the inquiry, I reflected on this critical issue, and much of that thinking guided the construction of the performance text. I was aware that outcomes of any given research most often benefit and privilege the researcher (Byrne, 2015, p. 8). As such, I actively reflected on that condition to acknowledge my own background in sport, and how it shapes my analysis, interpretation, and representation. I needed to sift through my challenges with identity and consider how these informed my interviews. For example, I needed to reconcile being bi-racial, from an African-Caribbean father and White, English mother, but recognized only as a Black man. That racialization was produced by a dominant cultural reflection on my appearance and not an internal identification I maintained. I was not trying to eliminate these biases, which would be impossible, but rather I sought to raise my awareness of these tensions, bringing them to the surface and sincerely reflecting on my relationship to them.

3.3.4 Photo Elicitation

Photo elicitation can seed discussion as well as elicit narratives from imagery, rather than from memory and recollection alone. As modern culture is dominated by the use of image (Collier & Collier, 1986; Jenks, 1995b), I believed that the use of image in conjunction with dialogue about sport – another important cultural form – would prove meaningful. As Jenks (1995b) identified:

We daily experience and perpetuate the conflation of the ‘seen’ with the ‘known’ in conversation through the commonplace linguistic appendage of ‘do you see?’ or ‘see what I mean?’ to utterances that seem to require confirmation, or, when seeking opinion, by inquiring after people's ‘views’ (p. 3).

Photos can be used to spark discussion, as well as to better understand what participants find important, beyond content based solely on a premeditated set of questions (Strong & Wilder, 2009, p. 23). For the inquiry, photos provided a micro-context for discussion. We were able to shift our conversation to participant experiences related to the photo or to artifacts or situations represented therein.

Although there are multiple techniques associated with photo elicitation, it was more interesting for this inquiry to allow participants to select their photos prior to our interviews (Collier, 1957; Holm, 2008; Kettle, 2010). I did not offer any direction as to what the content might be, only that they represent their experience with curling. The curation of photographs by the participants did reduce the participatory nature of the inquiry; however, the main purpose of the photographs was to help the participant feel comfortable speaking about their experiences and to draw out stories that perhaps might

not be offered during a traditional interview. For example, one participant speaking about one of their photos was able to recount a harrowing account of an accident on their way to an event and the emotional response and bond that formed within their team as a result. As such, I saw how the photos served as valuable gateways to their experiences, emotions, and understandings. Participants were able not only to articulate given experiences but they also conveyed their values and emotions in sharing a specific memory (Ketelle, 2010, p. 548). The photos also helped to create a connection between myself and the participant, where the “[p]hotos can lessen some of the awkwardness of interviews because there is something to focus on, especially if the photographs are taken by the interviewee and they are therefore familiar with the material” (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004, p. 1511). Although the intent was to have the photos be integrated into the final representation, it became apparent that their role merely facilitated an initial introduction to the interview process. Thus, what emerged from the analysis were the narratives surrounding the experiences, rather than the photos serving as a focus for the discussion. As such, the photos do not feature in the final representation.

3.3.5 *Personal Journaling / Researcher Interpretation*

Self-reflection was a continual practice throughout the research process. I used personal journaling to record my actions during the inquiry, particularly during the tightly linked data capture and analysis. Journaling helped me record issues that arose at different stages, and thus allowed for practices and methods to be revisited. For example, I made sure to document my impressions of walking into one of the clubs for the first time:

January 2019:

- Quiet in the lounge
- Place echoes back to its nostalgic roots; photos, trophies, old corn brooms
- A few trophies but fewer than at other places
- Radio for kitchen is playing Neil Young – I’m drawn back to memories of my experience in BC; hard being Black out there
- Ontario flag is prominently displayed; colonial roots evident

(excerpt from Observation Journal, Richard Norman)

These words were mostly observational, but they also began to reveal underlying themes in the club environment. This entry made me aware of the issue of colonialism and offered an essential motif for the performance text. It also drew my attention during interviews to mentions of colonialism, legacy, and the concept of Canada as a nation state.

In another instance, I found that journaling was a self-reflective practice. By writing, I was able to understand my inner biases related to “race,” necessitating a closer, critical look at my own perspective:

January 2019

- Looking again at the same faces in the photos. My perception discarded the Asian individual in one photo. Did I choose not to see them? Maybe I am choosing to see the “club” only from a coloured perspective and not diversity related. But I didn’t see them until I had met with an “ethnic.” Were my eyes opened as a result? Did I choose to see differently? What was my blind spot?

(excerpt from Observation Journal, Richard Norman)

Throughout the inquiry, I returned to the journaling to think through my analysis and challenge my findings. Journaling offered me a means of recalling specific events in my

biography, which helped inform my approach to the interviews. For example, I recalled an instance when I was very young where I painted over an old bike with *white* paint. This indicated deeply held beliefs about the colour *white* and what it represented in Canadian society. To me, White was new, fresh, and better from a child's mind's eye. I was surprised that analyzing my journal entries revealed certain deeply held opinions I had formed in my childhood. In recalling these stories and considering them in relation to "race" and diversity, I was better able to interpret my internalization of "race," "whiteness," and the operations of dominance based on my own personal experience.

For me, there was a particular catharsis brought about by the self-reflection required by journaling. It revealed feelings and emotions, but also an emergent pathway to navigate difficult thematic content:

February 2019

- What would I do? Again, asking a Black person about "race" comes from a good place, but why me yet again? I just left my last interview. It was again a frank discussion about how to make curling *colourful* and I say that tongue in cheek. We don't talk about race and racism much in Canada. Canada the good. We are multicultural. Hate that term. But there is something deeper going on. I can feel being against it again, whatever it is.

(excerpt from Observation Journal, Richard Norman)

The example above illustrates how I used journaling to begin to decipher my interpretations of "race." It allowed me the freedom to move past *simple* emotions – anger, despondence, fatigue – and move towards a new space where I could hold multiple perspectives together, mix them, fold them over, stretch them apart, and find adequate distance to engage my critical thought. Again, journaling foreshadowed the

performance text to come, but firmly established writing itself as a mechanism to analyze complex tensions related to curling and diversity. I was able to take the content from the journal entries and characterize my thinking within the scene dialogues. For example, my journal entry about the erasure of an Asian individual in a photograph was woven into a section in the performance text about my hidden biases. Journaling provided a basis for that critical examination, where my own taken-for-granted forms of knowledge and relationship to hegemony were deconstructed.

3.4 Researcher Position, Privilege, and Self-Reflection

My own background in sport and my connection to curling were significant to this inquiry. My preconceived notions of curling had benefits, yet also risked introducing tension, as my own knowledge could threaten to supersede that of the participants. Self-reflection and acknowledgment of my position(s) helped mitigate adverse effects or intentions, and through the interactions with participants, my beliefs and interpretations were in fact reshaped. First, my role was not passive nor objective, in so far as it couldn't be removed from the exchange between the participants and myself. As I attended to this actuality, my practice of self-reflection became more pronounced in the latter stages of the inquiry. In particular, the writing of the performance text firmly placed me inside the inquiry as contributor:

red: it is uncomfortably “white” here.

in(out)sider: It's January. I walk into the club: “I'm here to do a job.” I feel like I'm floating above my body. It's that “club-feel”

beige: *what do you mean?*

red: *I mean, take a look around, who do you see? I know who I see out there. It certainly doesn't resemble the city. At least **my** city.*

blue: *Yeah? I hadn't noticed. I really don't see colour.*

again: round tables, trophies, and the photos, always the photos. All those White faces: I check my blackness (Goldberg, 2002) at the door and put on my *researcher-face*.

This excerpt vividly illustrates my implication in the study. On the left side, the content is explored by imaginary participants, rooted in the accounts gathered through the interviews. On the right, insights from my perspective demonstrate my wrestling with notions of “race” and “whiteness” related to dominance. It also indicates the struggle with my position as inquirer and the privileges this role affords. For the inquiry, the performance text includes self-reflection both to illustrate difficulties with representing identity and “race” as well as the power negotiations that are always relevant to qualitative inquiry. Thus, self-reflection was vital to the data collection, analysis, and representation for the inquiry. Regardless of the critiques of reflexivity as being simply part of the practice (Clayton, 2013; Colombo, 2003; McKenna, 2007; T. Weber, 2003), it was important for me to trouble my privileging of scholarly discourses and my position as expert.

3.5 Analytic Approach

For the analysis, I relied on both *narrative analysis* and *analysis of narrative*. In narrative analysis, recombining or (re)storying highlights segments that are dissimilar or that indicate a conflict or tension among stories. Re-storying is a creative form that allows for a more co-creative collaboration between researcher and participant, as interpretations from both parties are layered over/under/in/between towards a deeper understanding of the content (McCormack, 2004; Lapum, 2008). Narrative analysis is practiced in many disciplines, but largely taken up by linguists. Analyzing the structure of narrative (narratology) discretely explores the elements of the story itself: author, narrator, plot, text etc. (Barthes, 1975; Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Elliott, 2005; Page & Thomas, 2011; Wells, 2011). In analysis of narrative, the language deployed in the stories is interrogated, where specific meanings underlying language are explored and critiqued (Springgay, 2005; Elliott, 2005). Analysis of narrative is a powerful approach when making meaning of the collected testimonies of participants. It focuses attention on the words used that, in fact, have the potential to convey a rich “subtext” to the statements that lie within (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004; Barthes, 1975).

For the inquiry, both approaches were useful in examining the participant accounts from distinct scales and points-of-view. They also aligned with the central tenets of Deconstruction. The process of deconstructing and interrogating participants’ word choices used within their accounts was significant. As the interviews progressed, seemingly innocuous terms, such as “new Canadians,” “the city,” “multiculturalism,” “blue collar,” and “our colonial past” were used without overt appreciation of the

weight they may hold in relation to notions of hegemony, and its impact on Others. I utilized deconstruction to play with, confront, and/or assess how these words were used within each response, but also how they pointed to deeper collective assumptions forming their signification and impact. It allowed my analysis to move beyond thematic categorization or alignment with binary constructions – man/woman or Black/White (Larsson, 2014; Butler, 1988; Weldon, 2006) – to look for anomalies, traces, hints of something else within the text. Disrupting my notions of categorization was crucial to ensuring individuals were not silenced outright nor through the act of associating or conforming to one group or another. I attended to how individuals also embody multiple identities, which could be revealed within their narratives.

My data analysis was an iterative, fluid process. It was not linear and there was overlap among source material collection, analysis, and representation; the three activities wove together as they informed one another. During the inquiry, participants shared their stories and their insights; their candour and vibrant storytelling contributed to and shaped much of the performance text. I became aware that the participants were not just speaking to me, but almost talking *asynchronously* with one another; I could hear one person's story commenting on another's, and conversely, revealing a foil or counter opinion valuable to the discussion. It seemed there was a magical, invisible round table at which the participants were all sitting, talking to one another, delving into sensitive material, all in hopes of finding a way forward.

I was struck by the self-awareness and commitment of the participants to talk about a difficult subject. Generally, participants talked freely and openly about their

experiences. During some of the interviews, photos were important to the process; during others, they became a subtle backdrop to the conversation and tangents as the dialogue flowed along. For my part, I helped facilitate or steer the discussion, but in most cases, the participants were the driving force. After each interview session was completed, I documented ideas, thoughts, and feelings that surfaced during or after the session. It seemed that some of the interview sessions had a particular flavour and atmosphere: charged or contented, thoughtful or raw, subdued or jovial:

February 2019

- We met in a coffee shop. Not an ideal location but was at the request of [name]. It was an interesting conversation for me. [They] were from the Prairies and had a much different take on curling. Certainly, there was a nostalgia for curling related to Canada. But so much pride. Curling was part of [their] fabric of life. [They] were so charged talking about the photos and their experiences. But the photos weren't specific to them, they were just of curling. [They] *just loved curling!*

(excerpt from Observation Journal, Richard Norman)

All my post-session reflections helped shape my interpretations of the content, of the participants themselves, and of their connection to curling.

The analysis phase of this inquiry sought to compare and contrast among commonly held experiences, in this context with curling. The intention was not to synthesize, generalize, or water down those experiences, but to hold possibilities up against each other and to examine the gaps between. In this way, I wanted to preserve the multiplicity of participants' views (Hollway & Jefferson, 2000). My role was to bring their active voices to the foreground but also go beyond just what was *said*. For

example, the passage stating “it’s uncomfortably ‘white’ here” was unique in itself, as it stated a particular point-of-view. However, the sentence alluded to deeper meanings underpinning the concept of “whiteness” and its functions vis-à-vis diversity. The analysis indicates (1) what is said reflects a person’s evaluation of diversity, and (2) the discomfort with curling’s “whiteness,” where the lack of diversity is at odds with Canadian values of multiculturalism and tolerance.

3.6 Performance Text as Creative Analytic Practice

In thinking about my inquiry, I was troubled by how *best* to convey the messiness of new ways of thinking, theoretical positions, internal conflicts, and emotions that I was experiencing as I progressed. Dealing with my positionality presented a particular uneasiness as to how I could both *show* those viewpoints and *use* them effectively to illustrate compelling nuances without it becoming solely *about me*. In addition, I wanted to ensure that the *substance* of the dissertation would be accessible to a wider audience beyond academia, while also unsettling traditional forms of representation. Using performance text as a form of creative analytic practice (CAP) (Adame et al., 2011; Fisher & Phelps, 2006; Richardson, 2018) was suitable to address this nervousness and struggle.

Sport research scholars have used a range of creative techniques, such as poetry and unstructured prose as an analytic approach (Popovic, 2010, 2012a, 2012b), while others have focused on narrative and narrative construction (Dowling et al., 2015; Singer, 2016; Spencer, 2012) or autoethnography (Carless, 2012; Cooper et al., 2017;

Douglas, 2009; Purdy et al., 2008). I liked the idea of using a modified story to present analysis of participant narratives, as “the stories we tell are not only about our lives; they are part of our lives” (Bochner & Riggs, 2014, p. 196). I was drawn to CAP as a means engaging my internal challenges while disrupting discourses through a creative style (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2011, p. 12). Narrative as a creative form and analytic tool has in research – autoethnography, storytelling, poetic representation – allowed for playful interrogation of the content, while the writing opened up new ways of knowing and analysis (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). This approach not only allowed me to “get *it* out,” but also opened new thinking to dislodge rigidity in the practice. It allowed me to occupy a wide range of philosophical positions to account for my subjectivity and constructed identities, while engaging in complex themes.

3.6.1 *Exploring “Race” and Identity Through Creative Writing*

I felt conflicted about using socially constructed identity categorization, such as with “race,” gender, or sexuality, as a theoretical base for critical examination. Although the association with Black in the text was important, I also needed to account for my own struggles with identity. As a bi-racial, transracially adopted individual, my negotiations of “race” and “whiteness” are fraught with incomplete, fractured ties to being Black and involve a complicated relationship to “whiteness.” Hall (1996) wrote about the complexity of identity construction, as “identities are never unified and... increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions” (p. 4). Du Bois’ (2007) characterization of the ‘double consciousness’ related to “race”

resonates with me, where the inner dimension of being Black imagined “two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body” (p. 11).

However, this doubling was insufficient to capture the fullness of my conflict.

Measuring my blackness against a frame of Black culture left me at odds with reconciling my “whiteness,” not to mention the added negotiation of being transracially adopted into a White family.

I was left further fractured and bifurcated from my sense of belonging within a White family, making my identification with “race” problematic, as if my qualifications for *blackness* were in doubt. I sought a way to calm the inner turmoil by using a creative, performative outlet to disrupt my identity construction by splicing my dialogue with the inquiry participants. Hall and Du Gay (1996) wrote that “identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only through the relation to the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks” (p. 4). As such, I felt I was always identifying myself in relation to the Other: “[t]he black is the ‘other’, the peripheral, while the white commands the centre, if for no other reason than this process of ‘normalization’” (Long & Hylton, 2002, p. 90). In fact, my “race” was always contested against the backdrop of the “whiteness” of Canadian society as the dominant position of belonging; anything non-White was considered outside. The difficulty, however, was who or what was the Other to me? This uncertainty had me shifting perspectives to find a position where I reconcile being Black, White, and Other.

I found representing the “findings” from this inquiry challenging. I hadn’t expected to be confronted with internal struggles from my past and present. Throughout the progression of interviews, I was compelled to attend to my own sensibilities about my “race,” upbringing, identity, and privilege. It was more than simply “researcher positionality.” It dug through my entire being. Being *of colour* in Canada is not a benign designation, and it is naïve to imagine that the severity of racialization, discrimination, and violence to those of us designated as “coloured” only happens south of the border. Writing allowed me to travel through different dimensions of my being, my roles as researcher and scholar, and my complicated background, which I often neglect to consider. Through the art of writing (Denzin, 2000; Fisher & Phelps, 2006; Richardson, 1990), I was able to show not only thematic areas related to curling, but also my internal confusions about my “race,” adoption, scholarship, and partial “whiteness.” It was the practice of thinking through writing (A. Jackson, 2012; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) that reframed the representation, whereby themes were reimagined as a conversation among fictitious or performative actors; created to communicate the complexity of participants’ stories in an accessible medium.

The performance text is organized into three scenes as a set of loose connections resembling past, present, and future states. First, tradition and legacy were illustrated, and their continued influence on the sport explored. Second, notions of diversity, “race,” and “whiteness” were considered as current issues affecting curling. Last, possible future conditions were explored in an attempt to illustrate how the participants might react to possible futures. Each scene demonstrated the interactions between

participant actors exemplifying the experiences revealed in the participant interviews carried forward as a perspective on new content.

Additionally, I wrote myself into the story showing my insights, struggles, and interpretations, not as an objective source but as someone complicit in entire the process. I explored my reflections on the inquiry and provided insights through the text, thereby integrating the analysis existing within the representation. My hope was employing performance text would involve the reader in the interrogation of the text as an active interpreter, thereby dislodging my interpretations as the only sources of meaning and knowing. In the process, the reader's insights are validated, and dislodge the prescriptive, reified expert role of the researcher:

[T]he researcher is abandoned, only to be replaced by the reader, who actively and creatively rewrites the research text... the research text will represent a presence, voice, and signature: that of either the writer or the rewriter of the text. (Mantzoukas, 2004, p. 1001)

I hoped that expressing my internal struggles about my "race," and identity might offer an alternative perspective to contrast, critique, and illuminate the complexity of dealing with diversity from the standpoint of a person of colour, and how these issues might be interpreted from that point-of-view.

The performance text addressed my relation to the isolation, discrimination, racism, and barriers to access that I encountered throughout my life in regard to sport. My desire was to demonstrate how these issues continued to challenge the social fabric of our world and reveal how difficult and complex these issues are to dislodge. In my

case, the lasting effects are deeply felt and particularly painful for me as a person of colour; it illustrates the lingering impacts on lives that persist and cannot be denied. By illustrating these conditions through the performance text, the notions of “race,” racism, and Othering could be isolated in order to address them in the sport of curling.

3.6.2 *Creative Practices as Political Action*

The use of performance text as an “alternative” technique for analytic research has been advocated by scholars as a way to challenge essentializing and normative approaches, and open up discourses to other ways of knowing (Butler, 2006; Lather, 2004; Lather & St. Pierre, 2013; Richardson, 1990; St. Pierre, 2011). Performance text lends a style and a consideration of thinking to disrupt reification of meanings, as each reading allows for new reinterpretations to be considered. Thus, in each iteration, the interpretations are relational to the individual and subject to change depending on the subjective perspective held by each person.

There is an interplay between writer and audience, which is often used in arts and literature. For example, the use of “call and response” within a performative setting has longstanding roots within Black and other ethnic communities (Denzin, 2000; Hill & Bell, 1998; Sale, 1992), and deep ties with African cultures, where voice and song served as a political vehicle (Richards-Greaves, 2016). This interplay opens up discourses to consider new sources of knowledge, in particular, those of Black and Othered Peoples. Further, hooks (2015) espoused “the aesthetic of blackness” (p. 103) as a re-turn to arts-based, creative practice meaningful for scholarship. Her writing

raised a cry to contest the racist view of “blackness” as ugly, undesirable, unintellectual, and inartistic:

Whatever African-Americans created in music, dance, poetry, painting, etc., it was regarded as testimony, bearing witness, challenging racist thinking which suggested that black folks were not fully human, were uncivilized, and that the measure of this was our collective failure to create ‘great’ art. (p. 105)

This denial of Black artistic forms further entrenched the colonial displacement of Black people from a rich past, filled with artistic beauty and culture, and reaffirming a justifiable denial of Black cultural forms (hooks, 2015, p. 105).

Hence, a re-turn towards such artistic representations challenged preconceived assertions as an act of defiance. It dared to smash the norms to *re-present* art, and performance as resistance, critique, intellectualism, and as means for liberation of blackness from oppression (Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Omi & Winant, 2015). Denzin (2000) made a case for how such practices could be linked with theory to, in turn, transform qualitative inquiry towards a powerful, “political force for change” (Denzin, 2000, p. 216). Further, Denzin (2000) saw the artistic, performative forms as integral shifts in qualitative inquiry towards a political end: “[w]e are searching for representational practices that aspire to higher, sacred goals... In this new moral space, we seek to change the world, to make it a better place to be, a place where democracy and democratic values thrive” (p. 262). It was in that tradition of performative art as

radical cultural critique that informed my approach to *an-Other* style of representing analysis.

3.6.3 *Participants' Experiences – Character Construction*

In order to ground the performance text, the participant experiences were amalgamated but also maintained a certain amount of individuality and varied perspective to account for the multiplicity of participants in the inquiry. However, I still recognized my interpretation of their experiences was subjective and I needed to consider *who* was telling the story (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Spector-Mersel, 2010):

The project of making experience visible precludes critical examination of the workings of the ideological system itself, its categories of representation (homosexual/heterosexual, man/woman, black/white as fixed immutable identities), its premises about what these categories mean and how they operate, and of its notions of subjects, origin, and cause. (Scott, 1991, p. 778)

This acknowledging of an individual's complex identity construction was vital for my analysis. I tried to be sensitive to *who was speaking* in the personal account. By doing so, I could gain deeper insights as to their challenges and tensions.

The result was a collection of characters used to represent the entire data gathered from the participants. These portrayals are referred to as *participant actors*. Each *participant actor* represents a characterization of participant experiences from multiple interviews and are not from one specific participant. For the *participant actors*,

I used colours as a method to distinguish each character. The colours were arbitrary but point to an underlying tension about colour and “race” which emerged from the analysis. I also needed to account for the multiplicity of *data* and how they were synthesized, or more relevantly, “put together” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 1). Deleuze and Guattari’s (1988) *assemblage* offered an innovative approach to imagine connecting “fragments of our knowledge” (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 17) to create or recreate newness:

Plugging in to produce something new is a constant, continuous process of making and unmaking. An assemblage wasn’t a thing – it was the *process* of making and unmaking the thing. (A. Jackson, 2012, p. 1)

The *participant actors* became such an assemblage where their fragments could be combined to form a coherent narrative illustrating the gaps and tensions that trouble curling.

3.6.4 *Researcher’s Insights – Accounting for My Fragmented Identities*

In order to adequately account for my constructed identity, I employ multiple *selves* to represent my differing perspectives. However, each *self*-expresses a point-of-view that is wholly constructed, but also a fragment of my complete identity. Taken together, they represent my internal world, which is fractured, faceted, and in transition. *They*, my characters, are independent yet intertwined, twisting upon one another. The characters exist on their own, but always are reflective of each other. Hall (2000) wrote about the difficulty with identity construction:

...identity means, or connotes, the *process* of identification, of saying that this here is the same as that, or we are the same together, in this respect ... the degree to which... is always constructed through ambivalence. Always constructed through splitting. Splitting between that which one is, and that which is the other. (pp. 146–147)

For me, this splitting is important. It allows me to explore specific aspects of “who I am” while expressing an *additive* element to the discourse. It allows me to be in defiance of dominant forms, while exploring the discourses from multiple positions. As a person of African descent, I needed to express not a single perspective, but several points-of-view, as holding my identity as just “Black” was incomplete. Even identifying myself as a bi-racial person does not even represent my *genetic* make-up. I found using the label “bi-racial” only connects to a splitting of my identity into two halves. It further essentialized my “whiteness” and blackness in some form I could separately locate in my being. Thus, any identification of “race” becomes restriction and divisive; rather than additive, whereby my identities could build on each other, to be more than, rather than just a part. To further complicate my situation, my adoption by a White family and upbringing in a transracial adoption environment shaped my relationship to “race,” identity, and expression of self. By showing my negotiations of “race” and identity, I was able to reveal the complexity of how dominant culture is interpreted by those *Othered*, and how such intersections are fraught with internal struggle and stresses; where such assimilations have psychological repercussions, and behaviours may severely restrict a person’s ability to be themselves.

In the performance text, my identity was expressed through several characters to express my internal world about “race” and transracial adoption, as well as a means to illustrate my self-reflection as an inquirer:

BruthR	my <i>blackness</i> personified
Raconteur	the <i>narrator</i>
In(Out)Sider	my position as outsider to the dominant world explored; both pushed to the margins and drawn inside; comfortable within dominant situations, yet uncomfortable inside that role. It is my negotiation of power and privilege, within an experience being a person of African descent.
The Boy	my historic mind’s eye of myself growing up; a reflection on how my identities were formed, constructed, and brought to the surface; a stage for my performance as a bi-racial, transracial adoptee

In the scenes, I did not necessarily use all personifications equally. For example, in the first scene that explores tradition in curling, using the narrator role and the “In(Out)Sider” were more appropriate to explore the relation between my role as inquirer and my position as being part of curling and also not. However, in the second scene, it was useful to use all of the characters to explore the different facets of “race” in relation to diversity. Thus, the characters are expressions and illustrations of my identity; be it from a past mind’s eye, contemplative inquirer, or my Blackness.

The next section consists of the performance text organized into three scenes.

4.0 Performance Text

The performance text is organized into three scenes, which were created to trouble the most compelling themes relayed by the participants. The set of scenes was created to illustrate the tensions, challenges, and insights emerging from the inquiry. Each scene provides an introduction to the reader (*Reader Notes*), which offers an explanation of the text to orient the reader. Following the notes to the reader, the performance text is presented. Last, *Director's Notes* are provided to give some background concerning the rationale that was used to construct the scenes. It indicates a thematic landscape that contextualized the scene and underpinned my perspective and insights as author. The scenes' settings resemble the round tables of the curling club, where people congregate after play is finished. There is comfort but it certainly isn't all positive. The stories revolve around the *participant actor*, as they drive the dialogue and explore the peaks and valleys of the issues. So, now, put yourself in their shoes and imagine... ice... winter... curling... Canada.

Another Quick Note About Language

In the performance text, I made a conscious decision to use the proper noun form, *Black* and *White*, any time my characters use language concerning "race." I specifically call out Black as a political form that has been used to categorize and racialize people, which is now normalized in our society. Yet, White is often not capitalized, leaving it 'more' hidden and unnoticed, and thus its position unquestioned. It becomes the 'centre' to which all others are fitted into and Othered.

However, the *participant actors* in the text do not use the proper form of these words, *black* or *white*. Again, this intentionally illustrates that although these words are used in

conversation, their presence and meanings are not interrogated; rather, they are neglected, and indicate a tension to be examined related to the discourse of diversity in sport. However, at the beginning of scene “[So White...](#)”, I do leave quotations around the first instance of “white” as a reminder to the reader that the meaning of the word still needs attention.

Style Note

In the performance text, I use **bold** to indicate words and language that signify (more) complex meanings that were taken-for-granted or not evaluated by participants. It is an indication that further examination is warranted but left to the reader for consideration. I also use strikethrough (xxx) as a technique to render meaning temporary, employing the notion of Derrida’s trace and absent presence (Derrida, 1976), which was discussed in the methodology chapter, in the section entitled [Language and Meaning](#).

4.1 Scene I – When the Pipes Come Marching In...

4.1.1 Reader Notes

The text is intended to be read in the order it appears, but the flow is interrupted by interjections from the narrator, referred to as *the raconteur*. As such, the interjections are meant to temporarily suspend the flow, whereby aspects of the conversation can be explored tangentially from the main conversation. The dialogue is meant to be “participant-centric,” as to highlight the complex viewpoints coming from multiple participants. Again, this is not a simple reproduction of transcripts, but a re-interpretation in a creative form in order to serve as a representation of what *types* of ideas surfaced in discussion with participants relating to experiences they have had in and around curling. The scene explores a “conversation” among participants in a fictitious curling club. There is an assumption that the *participant actors* are sitting around one of the typically round tables present in many curling clubs. It is a freeform conversation with interjections supplied by my *character* roles. However, my character interjections mostly act to frame the conversation. The interjections are meant only to freeze the conversation in place, as if the participants were frozen in mid-sentence.

4.1.2 Scene I – Performance Text

“When the Pipes Come Marching In ...”

Prologue

It's a bonspiel, the traditional curling tournament. Teams are pitted against each other in competition. The prize: a gift certificate from a local merchant, bragging rights for the year, and your photo on the wall. We are in small-town Ontario, but this situation plays out similarly across Canada. The annual event is a highlight for the year. It galvanizes the membership, eager to put on a party to remember. There are raffles, games for the off-ice time, a meal, and plenty of time to socialize. There are teams from a greater distance, mostly because of the money, but this event has a long history and has become somewhat of a big deal for local curlers in the know.

It's a small club with only 4 sheets of ice, with a vibrant but declining membership. People are getting older and there is a disconcerting feeling that if things don't change, this club might go the way of many of the surrounding area's curling clubs. Not enough people means that there isn't enough income to continue. But for now, there is a festive atmosphere. People are dressed up in costume. The bonspiel theme is a Canada Day event. There is red and white everywhere. The organizing volunteers have outdone themselves, putting in many, many hours to transform the club into a “winter wonderland,” harkening back to Canadian heritage. The tournament kicks off with a rousing speech from the club president, thanking all of the organizing team, especially the General Manager. She is singled out as the driving force behind their continued viability, even as membership slowly dwindles. Without her innovative approaches to the club space and facilities, the club wouldn't be holding the bonspiel this year.

The teams are lined up on the side of their sheets in anticipation. Then there is that familiar drone before the attack begins. At the entrance, there he is, decked out in a kilt and traditional pipers' garments. The tartan is blue and green, with sash and Glengarry bonnet. The piper has just returned from vacation in Scotland and rushed to the event in order to give the bonspiel the proper introduction. The shrill sounds of pipes resonate throughout the club. Everyone is at attention, clapping, engaged. Thrilled.

*O, Canada...Our home and native land...
With glowing hearts, we see thee rise, the True North, strong and free...*

*It's winter. Snow. Ice. It's Canada. It's bonspiel time.
They've gone all out for the annual event.
We hear a faint drone of bagpipes coming from the main hall...*

(Scene Opens: People Sitting Around Table)

orange: *Wow. I just get chills every time I hear those pipes. It is such an important thing for our sport.*

red: *Why do you feel it's sooooooo important? I don't see it at all. I mean it's so rare that you actually see a piper anymore.*

blue: *I didn't even realize it was part of the tradition of the sport until I saw the Brier on TV.*

beige: *Curling comes from Scotland. I mean they still get the **rocks** from a couple of quarries, don't they? That is something that is so strange to me.*

red: *I mean the kilt and the connection to Scotland. Does that really matter at all?*

orange: *For me, it is really important. It connects us back to curling's roots.*

raconteur: *I'm looking out on the sheets of ice. It seems pretty innocent, just ice and rings and lines. It's what you expect to see at a curling club, at least from all of the clubs I have been to.*

Who is she?

There are a few teams out there. They are serious right now, consultation about the next shot.

Why is she there?

The score is tied. It's in the eighth end, last rocks about to be played. It's tense.

She's the Scottish Lassie⁷.

But no one seems to notice. She's just part of the background. A non-descript face looking out onto the ice.

History. Tobacco. Sponsorship. Legacy. Hidden in plain sight.

blue: *I don't know. I just joined. I saw it on TV, the Olympics. I knew about it but never tried. Guess I was one of those converts.*

red: *Do we really need to keep connecting back to these things? I see it as going backwards.*

orange: *Oh, it's really important to me. Curling has a rich history. We can't deny that. It connects us to the past and the future*

purple: *I think it's sort of cute. It doesn't really speak to me personally, but I can see why people like it.*

⁷ Scottish Lassie – “In 1935 the Scottish lassie wearing the Macdonald of Sleat tartan kilt became the distinctive trademark of Export cigarettes, a brand produced by the Macdonald Tobacco Company. The Scottish lassie appeared on cigarette packages and then on billboards in curling rinks as Macdonald Tobacco sponsored the Brier from 1927 until 1979, a span of over 50 years. The very name Brier was actually the name of a tobacco brand sold by Macdonald Tobacco. Macdonald Tobacco sponsored the Canadian women's national championship in the 1970s and the championship was called the Lassie. The first Lassie was first played in 1972 and the arrangement lasted until 1979, when Macdonald Tobacco withdrew its support of the event. The Scottish Lassie still remains a recognizable symbol to many curlers” (Library and Archives Canada, 2019).

beige: *I love it. It is so unique in the sporting world.*

red: *You don't see anything problematic about it?*

blue: *Not really, I mean I joined because I wanted something to do in the winter. Canadian winters are so long. And it is something that links back to our **heritage**.*

in(out)sider: There is a such strong colonial connection in curling. Is that problematic? Can we continue to be focusing on tradition in the face of a changing Canadian landscape? At what cost does tradition continue to affirm a problematic history in Canada, made more acute in this climate of decolonization and Reconciliation?

purple: *That doesn't matter too much for me. I came here at age 2. My parents didn't even speak English. I just wanted to do something in the wintertime. I wanted to fit in, and what better way than to play a Canadian sport, and a winter sport at that?*

beige: *I agree. I feel more Canadian when I curl. It's something that connects us with our True North.*

orange: *In Winnipeg, they have an Ironman bonspiel for the Heart and Stroke ... it's in February on the river, it's actually at the Forks. It's a really big deal. It's all about really just staying warm and pushing the rocks down the ice with your broom and whatever. To me, that's like celebrating winter with our sport.*

blue: *I love it. I have such strong memories growing up watching the Brier. I mean it's not like now; we were all gathered around the TV. It was important for us.*

beige: *For me, it's a family thing. We grew up watching the Brier. It's a pretty big deal for me even now. I always felt a connection to that tradition. We still have a Brier and Scotties pool. You know pick the*

winner and all. Everyone plays, puts in a bit of money. It makes it interesting and each year, the entire family looks forward to it, and gets all emotional.

red: And so, we are back to the bagpipes again...

green: There's nothing quite like it. If you watch curling finals, they pipe the teams out onto the ice and there's a big procession and this little Scotsman in a kilt playing the bagpipes. It's part of the tradition. Nothing wrong with tradition, for my money it's okay.

blue: It's not a sport like an X Games sport where they're new and radical and stuff. I think curling really wants itself to be connected to its past.

red: Yeah, I get that. I'm not saying it has to be something different.

orange: It's all about celebrating winter. Remember the Vancouver Olympics? That put curling on the map, and we celebrated it because we are a **winter country**, and we're proud of it.

blue: That blew me away, all the cheering was crazy. So unlike curling, but in another way, so much emotion and craziness.

orange: I think curling is one of those pieces like hockey and some of the others. Skiing, all those things. Curlers definitely hold an important place in that whole **culture of our country – that winter culture**.

in(out)sider: I walk out on the ice for the first time. I didn't know that "draw" meant I was about to play, "You mean we aren't drawing for teams?" [laughter], was it mine?

"Dude, get ready, you're going on in five minutes."

Okay. Here we go. It's cold. It's ice dammit. I scan the other sheets, not another Black familiar face. I'm alone on the ice. We shake hands and begin.

beige: *Curling is so social though. Where else do you get that sitting around after the game feeling? I used to play hockey, and we might go out for a beer but just with our team.*

blue: *You wouldn't think about it, I mean having a beer with the other team... unless maybe if you ended up at the same bar.*

red: *I never would shake hands after playing hockey, I even hated doing it as kid. All I wanted to do was get off the ice, especially if you lost. Fuck, I was done. I was ready to hit someone. No way was I shaking anyone's bloody hand.*

purple: *It really is something in curling. The whole thing of "buying the other team a round." I appreciate it. You end up talking with everyone. Not all the time, but for sure sometimes. I think it adds a lot to the sport. It's all about being social and courteous.*

orange: *Not for me. It's so weird. In the Prairies, we don't do that sort of thing. It's an Ontario thing or maybe in the East.*

red: *Really? I thought it was universal.*

orange: *No way, we never did it. I was there for the competition. The social side, not so much. I like having a beer or something, but it wasn't part of our game.*

purple: *It's interesting now. People are a little wary now. You know because of drinking and driving. Maybe they have one, but not two.*

blue: *It's a drag, it's not reciprocal, or at least the second round is pop. That isn't how it should be.*

red: *I guess curling is losing more of that hard drinking, smoking on the ice image [laughs].*

orange: *I don't think it's really that important. At least it isn't to me. What if you don't drink? What then? Do you just sit there? Have a pop? I don't see that as being the same thing and it sets you apart at times.*

red: *I agree. I love having a drink after. I can loosen up and maybe talk to someone that I might not otherwise.*

purple: *But curling is designed to be social. On the ice, after you're done. I mean the tables are round. Maybe it's hard to talk across the table, but everyone is at the same level.*

Interlude

in(out)sider: I'm trying to imagine it. It seems like a bad, off-colour joke that you used to hear.

Twenty-five Muslims walk into a club...

But here we are. Would that really change the culture here? What would the membership do with a set of demands that are well outside the norm?

So, I ask...

raconteur: Well and I'm curious, what do you think the response would be from membership if twenty-five Muslim people came out? What do you think might happen?

beige: *I don't see a big issue. We've had Muslims come out for curling in the past. The woman was wearing a headscarf. For me, I was like, "wow." I'm just an old white [person], you know? I'm the establishment.*

purple: *But do you see any issues? Like what if they needed separate prayer rooms?*

orange: *To me, I think it would work.*

green: *I don't know. Where I come from, it's just such a narrow view of the world. I'm appalled, shocked and appalled at some people's take on what the world should be like.*

blue: *Yeah, I get that, but what would be the overall sentiment of the club?*

raconteur: The overall feeling is positive, but I can't help but think of what the long-term effects might be. Having such a new influence day after day. It's all well to say, "yes, come in and be part of this." But does it last?

green: *Like some members would be okay with it, but overall? I think it would be hard to accommodate everything, like prayer rooms and stuff. I could be wrong.*

blue: *It would be a shift for sure. Like drinking, what do we do with that? Sure, there are people that don't drink at the club already, but that is pretty rare.*

in(out)sider: And doesn't the bar help to finance the club? If that revenue dropped off, what would be the result?

raconteur: "The current form of the discursive theme of diversity... pushes earlier concerns with discrimination and oppression firmly into the background... Difference is not valued outside its potential to

enhance an organization's economic and instrumental performance... the theme of diversity in its current form seems to hold little potential for the empowerment of different social identity groups" (Prasad, 2001, pp. 64–65).

beige: *I'm not sure, I think it might take some time. Like, oh they're not staying for a drink because they're Muslim and they don't drink. It might take a few times, but I'm sure most people would be okay with that.*

purple: *I feel like our community is pretty evolved. I mean we are looking for new blood as well. Can't be too choosy.*

green: *Yes, I agree. I think it would be more like "allow me to do what I want to do; I'll respect you if you respect me."*

purple: *It gets back to the base of curling. Overall, it's pretty inclusive, even if it isn't showing up.*

red: *Really? Do you really think people would be all, "come on in!" I don't see it.*

orange: *You can't paint the entire membership with one white brush. People are complex, it isn't so monochromatic anymore, you just can't jump to that conclusion.*

green: *I don't know. Look at the sexism, I mean it's everywhere, look at volunteering. Who is getting acknowledged? Overall, it's the men, not the women. Equal work, equal recognition? Hardly.*

red: *Well, it doesn't matter to me. You drink? You drink. You don't drink? You don't drink. Just be happy about each other. It's a really simple world we live in if you just reduce it to that, right?*

purple: *It's not like we don't have alternatives. We've had to make other accommodations for people's religious or cultural expressions.*

red: *Yeah, like not everyone eats pork. So, you deal with that. Maybe this is different. Maybe not. Things are just changing. We better change with it.*

(Meanwhile, back at the round table)

beige: *I feel like curling, the etiquette, the culture, and why everyone's **very polite**, very well-behaved, is because this is sort of a throwback to when people wore suits, basically, to go curling. It was very prim and proper.*

red: *Where do you think that “prim and proper” comes from? I mean it's hard not to think of the UK influence on us. We can't escape it.*

blue: *Oh, I love that though. It connects me to **my heritage**. I come from a long, long line of curlers in the UK. It's about observing traditions, being courteous. It's really important to me.*

beige: *Being polite and courteous are just good manners. I think it teaches young people how to behave. That is why I want more kids to play. I think there are values we can pass on that are important to our society. It's like **how to be Canadian**.*

red: *Well look at them. They're all dressed up as lumberjacks, red and black flannel and hats and toques. That's what goes for Canadian today?*

orange: *C'mon, that's just having a bit of fun. They are expressing themselves. It's entertaining, no harm, no foul.*

purple: *I know friends of mine that are new and want to play because it is a Canadian sport.*

red: *Even though it comes from Scotland?*

purple: *It's a Canadian sport though. And if you play, well, you feel a little more connected. At least for some of us.*

blue: *It's still a gentleman's sport.*

raconteur: Haven't I heard that before? What does it mean to participate with *those* gentlemen? Courteous, restrained, reserved, conservative – haven't I been subjected to *that* style of dominance before?

Get on your tennis whites.

Even Arthur (Ashe) had to stand-up against racism in tennis at some point (E. Hall, 2011).

How is this different?

Does framing this as a blue-collar activity mean it operates outside of the notions of power and hegemony?

Well, most certainly, and it just gets a pass.

orange: *You bet it is. We shake hands before the game. No refs, it's just us out there. If you burn a rock, no harm, just take it off, "my bad!" Own up to your mistakes, that's a given.*

blue: *At the end of the day, that's what you remember. Not if you won or not. But oh baby, I can tell you every time a team didn't own up to their mistakes.*

purple: *It just leaves a bad taste in your mouth.*

red: *Ha, like long-distance bad breath.*

orange: *It's just a no-no. You don't do that, not in curling. I mean I compete. Like really hard, but I'll be there at the end to shake hands, win or lose. No need for refs at all. Now how **Canadian** is that?*

raconteur: What about Canada's colonial past? What do we do with that in regard to curling? Is it just a benign passing reference that isn't worth exploring? Or can we just *move* beyond our past and feel like everyone is on the same footing?

But what about the power and dominance of colonialism?

"It is necessary to extricate oneself from all the linkages between rationality/modernity and coloniality, first of all, and definitely from all power which is not constituted by free decisions made by free people. It is the instrumentalisation of the reasons for power, of colonial power in the first place, which produced distorted paradigms of knowledge and spoiled the liberating promises of modernity. The alternative, then, is clear: the destruction of the coloniality of world power" (Quijano, 2007, p. 177).

red: *Still, we can't escape that our **roots** have shaped this sport in a particular way. It's not basketball or hockey. I mean you can't curl in the local playground.*

blue: *I agree, and the **club** is all connected to that. I mean it isn't as exclusive as a golf and country club. But clubs are the roots of our sport.*

orange: *It's a different kinda club through. It's **blue collar**. It comes from a different place.*

red: *How so? A "club" is a club isn't it?*

blue: *I don't think so. **Country clubs** are way different. They breed being exclusive. It's a money thing.*

red: *For sure, it's way different. My first curling experience was at a snooty country club. I was a raggedy-haired teenager and so I didn't fit to begin with. Everyone was just so fussy. We had to learn the etiquette or else. It was just an unwelcoming atmosphere.*

blue: *You cannot deny that there is a huge variety of types of clubs. I mean look around here. It's tiny. It doesn't have any of that **elite** feeling for me. Maybe I can't see it because I don't curl here. But it's the same at my club back home.*

orange: *Out west, clubs are the heart of the sport. It's about small things supporting the rest. Even if you don't see it on TV.*

beige: *I've been part of this community for 50 years. We have done a lot to reach out to everyone to say, "hey, we're open for business, come and try it out." That's what **this event** is all about.*

orange: *All clubs are different. My club, well, it doesn't really have a club feel for me. Like, I don't want to hang out at the club after I'm done. I curl and I leave.*

red: *What's the difference?*

orange: *I'm a curler, I started young and kept playing. Most people at my club learned it later in life. It's different.*

blue: *For sure, so many at our club learned much later in life. But there are good curlers there. I learn a lot from them.*

orange: *Not always... I mean learning from curlers here. When I moved here, well, there is this thing in the East about knowing everything. I mean I grew up curling. It's in my blood, my DNA. So, don't tell me how to curl, buddy. I know how to curl, like*

really? You're telling me? Check your arrogance at the door please.

purple: *Oh, I disagree. I curl there too. I love being with my ladies. The different ages, we all get along. It's such a source of comfort for me.*

orange: *Don't get me wrong, there's good people there. And they do a lot, like bonspiels and such. It just is a little bland. Maybe it's the building, not really sure. It's not like back home.*

red: *I sure don't want to hang out there either. But I love the vibe at **this club**. I'm not even a joiner, but I could see doing something here.*

When in Rome, or at least in the vicinity

in(out)sider: I'm in Greece, traveling on a ferry between the islands. It's a typical post-university vacation. I see some other people from Queen's. We start traveling together.

It's hot on deck, so we head down to the café below. Service is slow, so I head to the bar. I order, the bartender says,

"Where you from?"

I answer, "Canada."

"No, where are you from?"

I answer again, "Canada!"

"No, where were your parents born?"

"Canada... well, and Trinidad and Tobago."

The bartender nods, as if to say, “Ah, that makes sense. He couldn’t really be Canadian.”

orange: *It’s different here in the East. When I was growing up, everyone played. It’s just what you did. Everyone was connected to the club. If the club wasn’t around, I’m not sure what we [our community] would have done. It’d be scary.*

beige: *Yeah, like in small towns, those four sheeter clubs and only two thousand people in the area, they’ve got two hundred and fifty people playing. That’s ten percent!*

red: *City to country isn’t a fair comparison. I’m here because it’s a unique experience. But I can’t help feeling that some traditions might be a little bit troublesome.*

blue: *What do you mean?*

orange: *People in a big city are a little different. I love living in the city, and all the things a city affords. But you still like to hold on to some of your roots, you know what I mean?*

blue: *It’s like the CFL. In Toronto, Vancouver, not so big, but go to Regina or Winnipeg, even Calgary a bit. I mean, we aren’t painting ourselves green and gold. CFL is big, curling is big.*

red: *You mean blue and white, right?*

beige: *I get that. I sort of feel that people watch it on TV and go, “that’s looks easy and fun,” but they miss the history and legacy of the sport.*

red: *But is that a bad thing? Maybe the sport just needs to adapt to a new era. I mean it's in **decline**. Facilities are closing up, and we're worried about teaching the history?*

orange: *I think people in the Prairies respect everyone that came before them and played, built the club, taught the game, did all the sacrifices to make it better for the next people.*

blue: *I don't think it's different here. I grew up in a small Southwest Ontario town. My parents curled. Their parents curled. I didn't like hockey, I curled.*

orange: *You don't need that legacy, but it sure makes a difference. Like here, you see it on the walls. You can trace things back to the 20s, 30s, everyone in their Scottish tams, you know?*

green: *I guess I'm a modern curler then. I don't need any of that stuff. I am here for some fun and a beer. Period.*

in(out)sider: Canada's relationship to and embrace of multiculturalism has become more than a governmental policy, and now is complicated by generations of immigration, and its adoption into notions of national character (Day, 2000; Goldberg, 2002; Venn, 2000).

raconteur: Traditions are part of Canadian history. We cannot simply remove them and hope everything moves forward properly.

in(out)sider: Isn't that the same for all sport? If we are making it *new*, what does it look like?

You walk out on the ice. There's music playing. It's jock jams! Got to get the audience pumping.

Here comes the shot! The fans are going wild. You can't hear yourself think...

Double raised takeout. It's bedlam.

The face of the new curling.

green: *[It's Canada Day] I love this country. It has some great things going on, but it isn't perfect. There's work to do.*

red: *Well Big Tobacco and alcohol sponsorship are part of our traditions. Does that need to be changed? Oh wait, it already is. Soooo...*

blue: *You can't compare the history of our sponsors to the traditions in the sport. They aren't the same thing!*

green: *Canada has put curling on the map. It's our game sort of now. I know other countries play, but Canada puts so many good teams out there. It's really our game now.*

red: *Let's be real about this. Canada and curling is still a big thing.*

beige: *It connects us to our past. To the North and our culture.*

red: *Huh? What culture are you talking about? I am sure the Inuit wouldn't be saying that.*

blue: *Let's not get into the "Indigenous question." We're just talking about Canada's role in the sport on the international stage.*

red: *Right... better not even touch the "Indigenous question" ...*

red: *[We've got to talk about the "Indigenous question."]*

raconteur: I'm in Winnipeg. It's freezing cold.

But it's a dry cold.

Why am I here?

bruthR: Man, it's -30C out. Don't matter if it's dry. It's just plain cold. I hate the cold. Black people don't like the cold.

in(out)sider: Hmm. But this is a different thing.

Can you see it?

in(out)sider: Walking around the stadium, I sense anticipation of the Olympic playdowns. This is for a spot on the national team. It's to be part of the Olympics. It's an athlete's dream, and the fans are there to see curling's best.

It's Canada's game. We own this sport.

I'm walking close to the stadium, people streaming into the building. But no one from the *outside*. It's the same to me, but different. Shades of the same issue, but with layers and layers.

Indigenous Arts for Sale. Native Community Centre. Indigenous Youth Outreach Centre.

"As for aboriginal peoples, I would argue that they have never been decolonized in Canada or elsewhere despite token gestures extended by the Canadian government in the form of promises of self-government and land-claims" (J. Armstrong & Ng, 2005, p. 37).

It's pretty plain. Reminders on whose land we are walking. It's glaring. Inside versus outside. Canada at its most raw. A tension that isn't going away.

"There is no English history without that other history. The notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel

the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always told from the position of the Other” (S. Hall, 2000, p. 147).

O Canada... Our home “On Native Land.”

orange: *Listen, I don't deny that that is something that's missing in our sport that we need to address. But right now we're talking about clubs and traditions and community.*

blue: *I agree. It's about what this sport gives back. The traditions that connect us back with what is important in this sport.*

orange: *I remember in a neighbouring community, their club burnt down.*

purple: *That must have been awful.*

orange: *My wife is from there. It was traumatic for her. The heart of the community was literally gone.*

red: *[You mean figuratively... ah language]*

orange: *The new place was stark, like almost unfinished. It was about getting it rebuilt, not making it feel like it did before. She remembers that feeling, “it's just so brand new.”*

beige: *That must have been hard.*

orange: *Absolutely. Absolutely. I just remember her being jealous of those other towns that still had their clubs, and the need to get hers back going on.*

blue: *But don't you just adapt? Like play other sports, or do something else in the winter?*

purple: *I think it is such a focus for those communities. If it isn't there...*

orange: *Yeah, the community really suffered. People were so wrapped up in club and then it was just gone.*

beige: *See, you can't deny that these **clubs** are something other than just a sports facility.*

red: *Even when our country club close to us decided to stop the curling, it was really hard on us.*

blue: *What do you mean?*

red: *Golf and country clubs have this tension. Curling is the poor cousin. Golfers pay high dues and see curlers as not pulling their weight.*

orange: *That's a bit rich. I mean, what are golfers doing in the winter?*

red: *The new push is technology, indoor simulators. Or ice skating. Seems all pretty **high brow** to me. We were lucky to find another club so we could continue curling.*

orange: *For me, curling is lower socio-economic, like more **blue-collar**.*

red: *There's that word again: "blue-collar." What does that mean today? I mean I don't want to get too deep into it, but blue-collar isn't the same anymore, we have so few real trade jobs. We don't have a manufacturing sector anymore, so what does it really mean?*

orange: *Okay, you are sort of right. Maybe it isn't specifically blue-collar, but you don't need a lot of money to curl. That is significant. Perhaps just a class thing?*

in(out)sider: I'm on the flight back home. It has been quite a trip.

"You flying home? Where you from?"

I tell him. I ask him what he is doing.

"Going to the National Assembly of First Nations. I am Chief of a local band."

I tell him what I was doing in Winnipeg.

"Hmm, I don't know many of us that curl, at least in the city. Maybe a few up closer to [a northern community]."

I ask him why not? He shrugs,

"The biggest problem is getting into facilities. We can't raise taxes to build anything. So how do you get a new rink? Well, that's why I'm heading to Ottawa."

I didn't know.

"You want us to curl? Let us build our own facilities. Simple, then maybe we will curl."

beige: *But let's get back to our Canadian question.*

purple: *Curling still is seen around the world as a Canadian sport. Just look at the demand for our talent to coach. I know three people that are working in Japan coaching.*

orange: *I think Canada owns this sport. Sure, it started in Scotland, but obviously it's a bigger deal in Canada than anywhere and it always has been.*

beige: *I would hazard to say it might be more of a national sport than lacrosse or hockey, you know what I mean, because of our success at the highest level.*

blue: *That's the difference. Here, it's about community and grass roots. We are curling. It's less about the elites and medals.*

orange: *But that's where curling is different. The sport comes from the club, not the other way around. That's why these bonspiels are special. It's the **lifeblood** of the sport. We don't exist without this.*

blue: *There's a lot of people who might want to try it in the city, and there's a lot of people there. It's like teaching it in a new country. I always thought that was interesting.*

red: *What do you mean?*

blue: *There are people from so many other countries coming to our city. It is so **multicultural**. If you are trying to teach them curling, you might as well be going to somewhere in Africa or South America.*

purple: *Curling is international. It isn't Canada's game anymore. It's just like hockey. It's time to let that go.*

blue: *Curling is somewhere in there for Canada as a national sport. I don't know which one it is, maybe hockey is our obsession and curling's our passion?*

beige: *But Canada, well, it's unique. We have people at both ends of the spectrum. Professional – like 30 teams that could compete for gold. And we have a ton of people just playing, in every city, town. You can't say that in any other country. You can't say it in Sweden, you can't say it in Scotland, you can't say it in Norway. It's just not to that level.*

purple: *It does have such a deep, deep tradition in Canada.*

red: *Just like the bagpipes.*

orange: *Yeah, let's not throw out the baby with the bathwater.*

beige: *We need to keep **them** for sure.*

purple: *Maybe. We cannot deny that it came from a certain place.*

red: *Yeah, a place that denies itself. Canadian, but really for some. Not all.*

It's over. The winners line up for their photos, another addition to the trophy wall. Volunteers buzz around finishing up their duties. Success.

~ End of Scene ~

4.1.3 Director's Notes – "When the Pipes Come Marching In..."

The scene depicts notions of *Canadiana*, colonialism, and "new Canadianism." The conversations shift towards the exploration of Canada both as place and as concept. From the participants, there were many divisions and binary constructions: East/West, North/South, and rural/urban. These binary oppositions served to establish invisible *norms* that were often called out as part of the sport, "we've always done it like that"; "we would never do that here." Many of these customs and traditions are brought under scrutiny in the scene dialogue. Each participant's subjectivity unsettled a narrow conceptualization of issues related to tradition, belonging, and values. The text is a

testimony to the complex tensions, oppositions, and divisions found while analyzing stories from the participants as there was little uniformity amongst them.

The scene questions the dominant vision of Canada, wherein holding onto one's heritage is important to some of the *participant actors*. The dialogue reflects back on notions of decolonization, and what might be an appropriate response from the sport. Thus, curling's heritage and tradition need to be interrogated due to the sport's characterization as quintessentially Canadian, or at least as having deep ties to Canadian culture. The dialogue centres on a perspective that associates Canada with "settler mentality." Consider how the notion of "the settler" has been portrayed in popular culture, and in particular, the notion of how "whiteness" engages with Indigenous Peoples:

The figure of the frontiers man who is one with nature saturates the U.S. cultural imaginary, from the Adirondack backwoodsman and the Order of the Arrow of the Boy Scouts of America ..., to Kevin Costner's *Dances with Wolves* and the most recent expression of the White settler-becoming-Indian, Johnny Depp's characterization of Tonto. (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013, p. 73)

Thus, critically engaging with this challenging subject matter also alludes to the *Othering* of people and the need to break with tradition to move forward. The dialogue is designed to challenge the structures within curling and show how people interact within that space. The importance of tradition underwriting sport is further explored in the discussion. The relationships among colonialism, Canada, and curling point to a

deeper consideration of what is not being talked about when looking at the issue of diversity in the context of curling.

4.2 Scene II – So White...

4.2.1 Reader Notes

The dialogue is visually split. On the left, the *participant actors* are written to expose situations and tensions that relate to the context. The right side explores a self-reflective negotiation of my roles as researcher/inquirer, racialized person, and trans-racial adoptee. For me, it is critical to present these two aspects of the inquiry together. However, it requires the reader to consider both sides of the dialogue in combination, and therefore requires the reader to choose how to read through the text. On both sides, *participant actors* and narrator(s) struggle with multiple perspectives, identities, and representations: “[t]urning toward *otherness*, being responsible to it, listening in its shadow, confused by its complexities” [emphasis added] (Lather, 1996, p. 539).

The scene is constructed with the aim of dislodging a stable researcher-researched binary, and also a typical expression of a text-based analytic practice. Often, traditional scientific writings bring their own histories, epistemologies, and assumptions hidden within. Construction of the performance text allowed me to break with confining forms: “[n]urturing our own voices releases the censorious hold of “science writing” on our consciousness as well as the arrogance it fosters in our psyche; writing is validated as a method of knowing” (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005, p. 962). The form and language in this scene disrupt or trouble the ease of reading, or, as Lather (1996) suggested, it provides a “rigid confusion” (p. 539). Through the *differently* represented text, the reader must refer to their own insights, where taken-for-granted meanings and

knowledge might be disrupted. Each reading of the text allows for a re-interpretation, where new insights can be formed. Such reading safeguards against fixed, rigid, and/or permanent interpretations.

The following text is designed as a fractured,



disjointed representation of both an



internal dialogue and conversation drawn from participants' experiences.



There is both possibility of reading the text as a coherent dialogue travelling down one column at a time, or, reading it as a conversation with internal dialog, moving back and forth across the page.



The intent is to show the messiness



within the content and thinking.

It is a ruptured conversation

in that for me, my role is split,

showing my biases

and identity formations

that are working during

the capture and analysis

of participant accounts.



I am not a neutral,

objective interpreter of these events.

Rather, my role influences and orchestrates

the telling freely given by participants.



The words render their experiences yet are relational to the situation and conditions that are present. The content is later re-interpreted and "analyzed," through perception and filters that generate this dialogic accounting of notions related to



"race,"

"whiteness," and dominance.

4.2.2 Scene II – Performance Text

“So White...”

Prologue

The building is nondescript. It resembles many buildings built the in ‘60s and ‘70s. It has a flavour of “municipal,” and fits with its surroundings. Stale air greets me as I walk in; it has a facility vibe. From the door, you can see the ice: sheets. Each sheet indicates a playing surface for a game, with painted lines to separate them from each other. At each end, there are large concentric circles that resemble a bull’s eye: the house. Teams launch their rocks (40lbs circular, smooth stones with a handle on top) from one end, hoping to have them come to rest inside the target. The more rocks in the house the better chances of scoring points: “simple eh?”

To the left and up the stairs is the lounge. There is always a lounge, it seems. The décor isn’t contemporary but functional, with circular tables and chairs: it is a “typical” curling club in that sense, the round tables, the lounge chairs, the carpeting, it is all familiar. There is a bar in the corner and there is a smell of fried food. Big glass windows let you see out onto the ice. No one is playing right now. It’s the afternoon. There are 8 sheets at this club, which is large in the curling world.

The lounge is empty save a few staff preparing for the day. It is a big space, seems almost too big for the level of activity that is happening: almost holding an expectation of being filled, maybe before or after the game. The round table offers a way for all to be present, perhaps equal, as there is no head, no middle, no upper or lower. Yet, there is distance. Sitting across from one another represents the greatest distance between people.

I sit down in a chair to prepare. I scan the room. There are trophies and all sorts of curling paraphernalia: banners, brooms, shoes, ads for upcoming events. You can’t help but notice the photos. All these faces staring back at you. Winners all – they have their picture taken and it is hung on the wall with their accomplishment prominently displayed. People are smiling, happy. You can almost feel a sense of pride. Local bonspiel? Provincials? Nationals? Seniors? Juniors? Men? Women? Mixed? It doesn’t seem to matter. One thing jumps out:

Everyone pictured is White (?)

It's *their* club. It's comfortable for everyone. The lounge is full. Noisy. They sit around the table with their beverages...

(Scene Opens: People sitting at a round table in the lounge)

red: *it is uncomfortably "white"s here.*

beige: *what do you mean?*

red: *I mean, take a look around, who do you see? I know who I see out there. It certainly doesn't resemble the city. At least **my city**.*

blue: *Yeah? I hadn't noticed. I really don't see colour. Sure, curling has a bit of a reputation of being predominantly white, but... I, I think that's changing.*

red: *well, not fast enough for me. Maybe it is just **this club**, but...*

(Scene Opens: Raconteur Reflecting)

in(out)sider: It's January. I walk into the club: "I'm here to do a job." I feel like I'm floating above my body. It's that "club-feel" again: round tables, trophies, and the photos, always the photos. All those White faces: I check my blackness (Goldberg, 2002) at the door and put on my *researcher-face*.

raconteur: There seems to be an overall perception of curling and "whiteness." The sport continues to be visibly oriented towards *dominance* – White, male, English-speaking, married, able-bodied (Curling Canada et al., 2015)

^s The term *white* is enclosed in quotations to indicate its contentious meaning, and that interrogation of its hidden privilege is required. However, it is only quoted in the first instance. Afterwards, it remains just *white*, so as to show how often it remains hidden, and exempt from examination.

The word “race” and “whiteness” are enclosed in quotations to draw attention to their reification and taken-for-granted-ness in our society (St. Pierre, 2000). It serves as a call to re-examine their meanings as relational and subjective (Derrida, 1976), and force scrutiny of their supposed permanence and incontestable fixity of their Truths (Berbary, 2017; St. Pierre, 2000). Further, I use the quotations throughout the document to remind the reader of the conflict and tension surrounding these words.

Black and *White* are also used in the document without quotations and as proper nouns. Black is capitalized to convey a meaning that is tangible, identifiable, cohesive and in contrast to White dominant culture. Thus, Black represents a political grouping for resistance against the discrimination and oppression of people of colour (Carrington, 2010; S. Hall & Du Gay, 1996). I capitalize White as an approach to focus on the dominance and privilege “whiteness” occupies in Canadian society (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). It requires interrogation of its meanings, assumed power, and privilege. It calls White out into the open, where it can no longer hide or remain unexamined. Yet, the use of these terms is problematic and incomplete. As social constructions, they do not properly account for the diversity, variations, and multiplicity inherent in the notion of racial classification, and thus should be persistently challenged.

blue: *It think it reflects **the city**, at least this neighbourhood.*

purple: *When I started 30 years ago, I was the only non-white at our club, not this one mind you.*

beige: *Oh really? What was that like?*

purple: *I see things changing but we have a long way to go.*

in(out)sider: *Holy Shit! I missed it completely. She's in a photo! A lone Asian woman! Was she White enough? Does she pass? I've erased her – not coloured enough to be included? When are you “race(ed)” enough to be considered part of the group? Her erasure happening in my Black-mind's-eye.*

Woman/Asian = Disregarded, Invisible

There is always an assumption that “race” is somehow permanent and essential (Adair & Rowe, 2010; Carrington, 2010). But as with all identifications, there is a becoming (St. Pierre, 2013) at some point in someone’s history.

beige: *I don’t care, everyone is welcome here. It doesn’t matter if they are white, beige, black or pink.*

blue: *What do you mean “a long way to go”?*

purple: *I mean, look around. Our membership has changed, there are more Asians playing now. Look at China and Japan, they have really taken to the sport.*

red: *Well that may be, but c’mon, what do you see here... a bunch of white people, it kind of bugs me.*

blue: *It’s kinda an obscure sport.*

orange: *But how do we change it to make it perhaps more “representative”*

red: *Are you talking about what we see on TV? Or are you talking about here at the club?*

in(out)sider: I’m sitting at a table now, just waiting for my participant to show up. There is music playing in the background, *Neil Fucking Young*. *(I laugh weep to myself).*

bruthR: Yo, when ‘you become a nigga?

the boy: What do you mean?

raconteur: *(sighs)* Do you remember *becoming* Black?

bruthR: Ya man! That’s what I said!!

the boy: I always knew I was different. I didn’t look like my brother or sister.

raconteur: ...but did you know you’re part of a “race”? Did you know *blackness*?

bruthR: Yeah, but yo, you know, when did *they* get at you?

the boy: Maybe 5? 6? I was walking home. Next thing I know, they were chasing me. I was so scared.

bruthR: What?!?

raconteur: Who was chasing you?

the boy: I don’t know, a couple of White boys:

red: *I'm not even sure what that means.*

"run nigger, run" "you don't belong here," "we're gonna get you!"

Racial oppression always has the sub-text: "go back to where you are from," "this is ours," and "we *only* allow you to exist here if you conform, but know this: you will never be *of us*" (Fanon, 1952, p. 89).

orange: *Good question, I don't see many "people of colour" on TV. When I was watching the Olympics in Vancouver, well, not a lot of colour there.*

raconteur: There is always a feeling of *othering* hidden in the depths of oppression; it is the alienation of a fellow human. Once affected, the "sub-human" has lost all rights and privileges, and can be manipulated, pushed under, and rendered inert.

blue: *So, are you saying that colour doesn't matter at all?*

the boy: I just ran, my heart was in my throat, just ran. I could barely see I was crying so much.

beige: *Not in my books.*

bruthR: Man...

red: *That's a bit naïve. Of course, "race" matters. You can't unsee it. And you ain't seeing it here!*

"Race" was thrust upon me with all of the aggression and oppression in the language of power (Hall 1997, Hylton 2009).

blue: *It's the same as Black Lives Matter. I don't want to see "people of colour" singled out. That's not what curling is about. **All Lives Matter**, and everyone can play.*

the boy: That's all I know. I didn't even know what that *word* meant. I knew it was bad (*that I was bad*). I was just so scared. I guess after, knew I was *Black*, and people didn't like me. Black was bad. I was bad.

orange: *It's very welcoming. Anyone can participate.*

And for me that's really important.

blue: *All are welcome? Hmm. Yeah, but...*

purple: *It's true, our club is pretty open. But there still aren't a lot of black or brown people at our club.*

orange: *I think we have done a pretty decent job of attracting new people. Look at [person's name], they have really been pushing to make sure there are programs to help get "people of colour" in the doors. I think it is working (a bit)...*

the boy: A day like any other day; a present for my birthday. It wasn't a new bike, but it was mine. Taking it outside, the air felt closer than usual. The neighbourhood was quiet, were there no kids around today? Where were my friends? Did that matter? It was the bike, not old, not new, but somehow incomplete. Not broken, not missing parts, yet incomplete. So, what was the remedy, the solution? How to make all the parts seem full and whole and "normal"? It was mine, my new old bike, and colour... *black*. The fix? *white* paint. And so, paint, and paint, and yet, he cannot make it new, it is still not "right", so paint, again. I didn't want to be Black. I hated my skin. I hated me.

"**Racelessness** is the neoliberal attempt to go beyond – without (fully) coming to terms with – racial histories and their accompanying racist inequities and iniquities" (Goldberg, 2002, p. 221). Do we assume that a sport must have the appearance and representation of a *place*? Can that be accomplished by relying on the motivations and desires of those not represented? Those people pushed to the margins? Again, people participating in dominant cultures assume assimilation is required as part of induction into that sporting culture. It is not without a measure of violence (Butler, 2006; Crenshaw & West, 1995; Goldberg, 2002; Hylton, 2005). Sport participation: a benign process? Canadian multiculturalism?

beige: *Anyone can come here and curl. Everyone is welcome.*

red: *Sure doesn't seem that way. What if you walked into a club that was 100% black or brown people? How comfortable would you be? Why aren't they here?*

blue: *Well, when I started curling, the learn-to-curl sessions were all sorts of different folks. Maybe I don't see it the same because of how I started.*

red: *I see that. You see a lot more diverse people who maybe are interested in trying it out.*

beige: *I bring in kids from one of the most racialized disadvantaged areas of the city. All I can say is "they love it."*

purple: *Same for me. My company had a "curling day" and we all showed up. Most of us didn't know anything about the sport.*

beige: *What did you think about it?*

raconteur: There is tension here. *They* are challenged by the current situation and have difficulty deciding where to begin. Is there actually a problem with diversity in the sport? What, really, would diversity look like if it were fulfilled? How do we take into account the varied demographics across Canada?

in(out)sider: Wow, these curlers aren't shying away from this topic. I can almost see them going through their mental gymnastics. But what do they make of me and my role? Are they really able to be *truly* open? Does my presence open a lacuna due to my bi-racial-ness, my blackness?

bruthR: Yo man, but you all are sooooo *oreo* man. You know, Black on the outside, with a big ol' White filling.

in(out)sider: (*thinking*) I never get to be *White*, it doesn't matter that it is part of me. I can't express it. It is erased by my *blackness*. I am *forced* to exist as Black, or be at risk of not existing at all, but I am comfortable here, in this place, in this situation. I have been here before; it's family familiar.

the boy: I'm 24 and walking into the tennis club; it is "fancy," at least for me. I feel

purple: *It was great. Everybody was having a great time, laughing, sliding on the ice.*

beige: *So, what's your company look like?*

purple: *All different. Our company has a strong policy around diversity and accessibility. We were voted into the #100 Companies in Canada promoting diversity in the workplace.*

red: *And how many of those people that you curled with curl now?*

purple: *Well, I'm the only one.*

red: *See. There it is. So why did you keep curling?*

purple: *I had a friend in a league here. It took me a while to be able to join.*

blue: *Why was it hard to get into the club? Isn't curling in decline?*

orange: *There are clubs closing all the time. We need more bodies through the door.*

“outclassed” already and haven't even hit a ball.

tennis is a White sport.

I am playing soon. I'm nervous in the change-room. There are eyes on me. I walk through to find a place to put on my tennis gear. My tennis **whites**.

you don't belong here.

I look into the mirror. I love this sport. I love to play, to compete. How did I get here? Did Arthur send me? Did Althea? Was it Yanick, James, Serena, Jo-Wilfred, Gaël, Venus? No.

tennis isn't a Black sport

I played with my buddy Steve, the palest Scotsman out there. “You're almost *translucent*,” we used to joke.

raconteur: Did the boy imagine continued colonialization resulting in a hierarchical, administrative structure, formalized through “clubs,” and “whiteness,” and tennis *whites*, which he needed to wear, to conform, and belong? How was that lost on the people he came into contact with, the fact that outward appearance required suppression of his identity, at odds with his resistance (Hesse-Biber, 2012, p. 6)?

purple: *I don't know about that, but here, there was just no room. There aren't that many clubs left in the city.*

red: *But there it is again, maybe there are "people of colour" curling or wanting to curl, but they sure aren't getting into the club.*

orange: *I don't get it. You're all talking about this diversity thing. I grew up in the Prairies, and the only people around are white.*

red: *Exactly my point, what even is "diversity" in curling? What would it look like to have a "diverse" or "representative" mirror of our city?*

blue: *And what about Native people?*

orange: *Well they just didn't play. We didn't have much interaction with them. They were on the reserve and kept to themselves.*

beige: *We have such a rich mosaic of people here in our city.*

bruthR: Ha, maaaaan, y'all is wack. Tennis. C'mon. No nigga plays that. Except for them Williams.

raconteur: Is curling really different? There are so many features held in common with tennis. There are clubs. There is membership. There is tradition. What's the difference? Is there really one there?

the boy: I really loved playing basketball, at least at first. I was good. I got known around the school. There were a couple of other *ethnics* on the team, but no one Black. Where I grew up, not a lot of people that looked like me. I mean five in a high school of 1500. At least that's what it seemed to me. I was good. I made the 2nd team all-stars. I was allowed to be good. I allowed myself to be good. I watched it always. I learned all the players. Magic. Kareem. Worthy. Michael. But I wasn't like them. I didn't grow up like them.

raconteur: He had always been good at sports. Was it "inherent"? Something expressed of his blackness? But sports made him feel good. An expression and extension of "who" he was? He could play basketball well: so why did it trouble him so much? What is a *stereotype*, when it becomes real? ...but he was *a more*. Can't you see that? What stops you from seeing "me"! I am an "AND"...

We need to bring that out more.

blue: *I like Canada for that. We value multiculturalism. It's even a law or something, isn't it?*

orange: *There you go again, city-this, city-that. City, city, city. To me, curling is born 'n' bred in the small towns here.*

blue: *Yeah, you can't deny that curling is big in the small towns. I remember a bonspiel I went to in [named small town], it had 64 teams competing! In a town of 2000? What's up with that?*

orange: *Exactly. Those events are huge and always have been. You can't deny that curling's roots ain't in the big city.*

red: *Maybe, but so what? Because it has a certain origin, that's it? We just stop thinking about why it's still so white?*

orange: *We can change things, but we can't just lose*

an and, and, and, and, and (Deleuze, 1988, p. 25). An assemblage of many, and nothing at all (Deleuze, 1988, p. 9).

bruthR: Ha, no my brother, you ain't from da hood.

the boy: But I stopped playing. I didn't want that "dumb nigger from the projects" feeling.

raconteur: If there is *blackness*, does our social world not construct it, or is present from the start, from birth? Did he look back to uncover an *authentic* truth hidden away in the recesses of his mind, his soul? Was the sheer physicality of sport his source of anxiety? Did it evoke questions of "race," gender, class structure, human(ness); moving him away from a sport he loved, and into others that challenged the norm? If a "team" presented a tension, a construct that was detrimental to his relationship to sport, would an individual sport deliver what he wished for? Did the mastery of skills, and competency afford his privilege as being captain? Did it call into contention being "marginal"? In that context, how does one associate with *dominance* and *non-dominance* at the same time? How does sport affect, confuse, and trouble his ability to define himself in those categories?

everything. Traditions mean something.

beige: *I agree. And we can't forget about our history. It's ours and we love our traditions. I don't really care if it offends anyone, it's important, and honestly, I don't see the big deal.*

blue: *I don't know, maybe it's the cold. I mean they are coming from warmer climates. Ice isn't something that they're used to. Could that be part of it?*

beige: *I don't see that. I mean we bring in kids from the surrounding area, even [named community: poor, visibly brown and black] and they all have a great time. I do it every year. So I don't think that's the issue.*

red: *Ah yes, we are good at that. But where does that lead? So you get a bunch of black and brown kids all hyped up about playing. What's next for them? Do their parents join the club so they can play? I don't see that option happening much.*

And when – if he did not identify as a category – were categories assigned to him? Without consent or knowledge or protest.

the boy: It is an oppressively humid night; two teams squaring off in a men's league soccer game. We are playing the Portuguese Canadian team. No bitter rivalry here, just a regular league game. As time winds down, however, the collegiality begins to wane:

"Fuck you! You black piece of shit!"

Interestingly enough, I had been waiting for THAT word, that pinnacle of racial taunts; the word that we all are taught to fear. And in the heat of the moment, it doesn't come. Why was it important?

nigger. niggaz. n#@\$. nigger

in(out)sider: The questions are coming to an end. Do I press more? Is there an answer that would really satisfy this question? They are saying a lot of different things, why is this such a troubling question?

the boy: I hate this feeling.

raconteur: What feeling are you talking about?

the boy: I *always* have to explain. I always have to justify. I didn't ask for this. I didn't know I would *always* have to answer

beige: *What about sponsoring kids? Like scholarships or subsidizing their fees? I've heard that happens in other sports, why not curling?*

orange: *I can see that happening maybe. But we don't have a reserve fund. Where does the money come from?*

red: *That's that then. We are surviving here, and that's where it stops?*

orange: *It's just not something we have entertained before. It's not a bad idea.*

blue: *It's just another piece of the equity pie. How far do we go? Are we responsible for this? Really?*

purple: *We are so fortunate, why not?*

blue: *I don't know. There are soooo many good causes. Does this really count?*

red: *It does if we want to get more diversity in here. We've got to*

for this. Being Black. It just sucks sometimes.

bruthR: But that be where it's at. You know, y'all can sit there and talk shit, but when it comes down to it, we the ones that are gonna pay.

raconteur: What do you mean?

bruthR: Even [in Canada] here, it's our Black bodies that getting hit, shot, and dead. We all gotta pay. Police be hitting us, shooting us. F*ck. Ain't no escaping it. White cops kill Black people... all... the... time.

the boy: [to himself] But it can't be *all* White people, can it? What about my mum and dad? My sister and brother? **They** are my family.

“Much of the existing sociological and psychological literature related to adoption focuses on the initial and long-term development and adjustment of adopted children and families, but there is little emphasis on the cultural development of children who have parents from a different race and culture” (Morden & Hopp, 2007, p. 60).

bruthR: Yo man, doesn't matter. They al' get somethin' out of it.

raconteur: You mean they benefit because of White privilege?

bite the bullet and make some damn room.

orange: *I don't know. That might work here in [the City] but I don't think a small club could go that route.*

bruthR: Damn straight. Don't matter who. They al' get a piece of it. And they don't have to answer for nuthin'.

the boy: I feel tired. All the time. I wake up thinking about this. I'm always thinking about the next time someone will call me the N-word. Or worse. I'm stressed out

“Typically, modern racists do not perceive either the benefits of White privilege or the specific challenges faced by members of racial minority groups. For example, people of color routinely experience race-related ‘microaggressions’: subtle insults and put-downs, which may be overlooked by others” (Katz & Doyle, 2013, p. 65).

blue: *But is that curling's responsibility? Why do we have to change our traditions? It's part of our game.*

purple: *It's something to think about. I mean feeling part of a culture that has a weight associated with it at least for some people.*

orange: *There we go again. We can't please everyone. The way I see it, be part of our sport or don't. We can't go changing things just because.*

raconteur: It's all due to you existing as an Other in a White space; regardless of how comfortable you might believe you are, it exacts a toll. White is differently associated with “race,” as “the processes of defining a white identity, however, are rather different because of the dominance of whiteness in our society. The discursive power that is embodied through the ‘discourse of othering’... causes whiteness to be ‘inside’, ‘included’, ‘powerful’, the ‘we’, the ‘us’, the ‘answer’ as opposed to the problem, and most important of all, unspoken” (Long & Hylton, 2002, p. 89). Being on the outside requires a constant effort to bring oneself back to the interior. To share the benefits

orange: *I get it. There are things that we might not feel okay with today that we did in the past.*

blue: *It seems that it's all different for different places. I can't see using a one-size-fits-all with this thing.*

red: *But that's the whole point. We are at the centre. We are it. So now what?*

that are supposedly open to all but are relinquished thanks to unequal terms.

bruthR: Yo nigga, stop with that school shee*it. It all *be* White. IT ALL BE WHITE.

raconteur: We don't all exercise the same level of power when you can't get access to it (Foucault, 1977).

You are **powerless**...power-less[-*than-human*].

England, 1974: We are on sabbatical. My dad agrees to an exchange at the University of Warrick, we come along as the *family*. I remember everything: I'm seven. I remember the flight, the green and white VW van we drove away from Heathrow. I remember getting chocolate mousse in the first-class lounge on the 747. It's in that little bubble, you have to go up some stairs. I remember seeing a woman smiling at me as I sat and ate my dessert. Now we are in Oxford. I run hard, and shoes back in those days didn't last. My mum and dad are constantly buying me shoes. "I'm not wearing my school shoes, I want my pumps," I say defiantly. It's England, so it's full school uniform, down to the leather shoes. I've never worn them before. I hate them; I want my *pumps*, my gym shoes. They make me "go fast." They've got holes though. I need new ones again. My dad stays with my brother and sister. It's just my mum and me on the hunt for new shoes. We find only *one* open shop in town; I can't remember why. My mum opens the door, the *salesman* just stares. We are just browsing, not sure if we'll find anything. The *salesman* comes over to my mum. They are talking. I can't hear it all. "You can't come in here with him." I don't understand. My mum protests but grabs my hand and we walk out. Looking back, I wonder what he thought: Was she my nanny? Was she a do-gooder? Definitely not my *mum*. Doesn't matter, I was still **Black**.

Postlude

Wendt: you will maintain this safe place for yourself, for your art? You don't think you will ever change and uh, write books that incorporate White, White lives into them substantially?

Morrison: I have done.

Wendt: um, in a substantial way?

Morrison: you can't understand how powerfully racist that question is, can you? As you could never ask a White author, when are you going to write about Black people? Whether you did or not. Whether she did or not. Even the inquiry, comes from a position of being in the centre

Wendt: and being used to being in the centre...

Morrison: and being used to being in the centre, and saying "you know, is it ever possible that you will ever enter the mainstream?" It's inconceivable that where I already am is the mainstream.

Excerpt from interview: "Toni Morrison: Uncensored," (Deans, 1998)

~ End of Scene ~

4.2.3 Director's Notes – "So White..."

In Canada's move toward Reconciliation and decolonization, it is difficult to voice a call to recognize "Others" affected by the colonial process without diluting the true need for Indigenous Reconciliation, reparations, and compensation. Yet, people of African descent also suffer(ed) the colonial experience, from displacement, oppression,

and a negotiated presence in relation to dominant European, White society in Canada (Fleras, 2014; Henry, 2000; Sharma & Wright, 2008). This is made more complicated by second wave immigration from the Caribbean, where diasporic effects have shaped migration patterns and the establishment of Black cultures in Canada (Alexander, 2004; Fanon, 1952, 1961). Thus, people of African descent have lost their connection to their roots, and tradition has been replaced with those of a colonial representation (Day, 2000; Greaves, 1998). However, those same people of African descent have been forced into and also have participated in the act of colonization while searching for “place” within dominant colonial culture (Carrington, 2010; Day, 2000; Mignolo, 2011b).

The scene “*So White...*” centres on issues of “race.” Calling out “race” as a political strategy – collective power, safety, cohesion, and pride – has been effective in the dialogue concerning discrimination, inclusion, representation, and equality (Hylton, 2009; Omi, 1994; Teelucksingh, 2006). However, the scene also disrupts identity politics by showing the limitations of “race” in relation to identity, where “race” can encapsulate and reify a person as Black, White, Asian, or Other. On the one hand, the narrator (raconteur) is empowered by identifying as Black, yet the association is incomplete and therefore distressing as a means of identification. The plurality of identity necessitates moving beyond “race” towards a relational, subjective negotiation able to reflect the dynamics of being, of being/becoming whole. The narrator’s text explores that negotiation: of being both Black and White, or belonging to a White family, and being comfortable in White spaces. These themes are important considerations for analysis and are taken up in detail within the discussion to unpack the

difficulties of “race” and sport, as well as how “whiteness” troubles the cultural context of curling.

4.3 Scene III – If I Only Had My Way...

4.3.1 Reader Notes

The next scene explores reactions amongst *participant actors* to three situations that I envisioned based on the participants' stories, and which are projected fifteen to twenty years into the future. The *participant actors'* commentary was used to explore the implications of the scenarios. The dialogue follows a direction in line with actual participant perspectives now discussing the future of curling. This content gave rise both to the actual text and the inferred or interpreted fiction tied to the multiple perspectives of the *participant actors*. The narrator (raconteur, facilitator) speaks from a range of perspectives that offer insights and shape the dialogue. The interjections are meant only to freeze the conversation in place, as if the *participant actors* were paused in mid-sentence. The scenario text is designed and crafted partially to be provocative, but also to be grounded in possibility, not probability. As a reader, you are encouraged to suspend your internal voice that might discount these scenarios outright as “inconceivable” or say “that would never happen in that way.” The scenarios merely offer a system of thinking about *what might be*, and in any event: can we be assured any of these situations might not occur? Here a new character is introduced: *the facilitator*, a role that establishes a seasoned practitioner in future thinking to guide the participants through the possibilities and draw out their insights into how these worlds might come about, what impacts might be felt, and what the implications may be for our world and the sport of curling.

4.3.2 *Scene III – Performance Text*

“If I Only Had My Way...”

Prologue

***Raconteur:** Overwhelmingly, participants are passionate about curling and want it to succeed. Yet, they also sense that things need to change. Participants are asking for it. They see something that isn't right to them, but there are unanswered questions: how do we go about something that exhibits a complexity of symptoms – race, dominance, tradition, culture, along with impenetrability of scope – individual, local, provincial, national, global? Where do we begin? What structure(s) do we need to address first, second, third? How to include and how to privilege the margins? How to engage allies and how to limit detractors? The complexity of change seems to render us impotent, stymied, and worn down. The overwhelming sentiment is “this situation needs to move, it cannot continue to persist,” but where do we start?*

Working in Strategic Foresight and Future Thinking (strategic planning for long-term time horizons) for the past 10 years has left me with the following crucial insight. If people are pressed to entertain possibilities of futures to come, this introduces the ability to suspend those vines of thought that hold us in place, fasten us to a perceived reality, and that which limits our creativity in approach and conceivable resolutions. It is with this in mind that we attempt to push the boundaries through invoking imagined futures. Our actors are in place, ready to engage. They are discussing fresh, possible outcomes that set the stage for real change.

(Scene Opens: White board, table with people sitting patiently. A lone person standing beside a flip chart getting ready to speak)

facilitator: Alright it's time to begin. I appreciate your patience and want to thank each and every one of you for agreeing to participate in this round table discussion about The Future of Curling Moving into 2030. You have all had a chance to read the three scenarios, and what I would like to do now is hear your thoughts on the impacts and implications that might arise in each of the possible futures. Again, these are *possible* futures, so you need to suspend your disbelief and impulse to dismiss, and truly open your perception and allow the narrative to wash over your mind. Our goal is to think beyond our present to understand what might come to pass, in order to prepare us in the event that some of the conditions begin to ring true.

So, let's dive in...

Scenario A: The Return to a New Nationalism

January 10, 2030: The poster read, "Join the 'New Wave': Canada the Strong." There were two White youth staring off toward an imaginary horizon. In the background, mountains and a feeling of connection to the outdoors. It was the calling card of a new politic that had swept the nation. After the riots in the detention camps five years ago, political factions were jockeying for power and prestige, each shifting farther and farther to the "right" as a calculated effort to galvanize the apathetic masses, and firm up their base, was being met with increasing success.

Canada has emerged as a "power broker" on the international stage, with lucrative trade dealings with China and the Pacific Rim. With the collapse of NAFTA, the US closed its borders to the outside world and relied on its clout to carry the day. Increasing domestic unrest has destabilized the political sphere and plunged America into a deep recession that it's not recovered from. Increased tensions between the US and Canada has forced a closure of Canada's borders citing potential threats to national security. The US banked on a pro-American ethos, building up its borders and closing off to everyone else, except the post-Brexit, independent UK. However, ongoing antagonism between the UK and EU and the UK's financial collapse required its government to implement extensive austerity measures, which devastated the region. The UK was in

disarray. Riots, food and labour shortages were just the tip of the iceberg. The UK had become the “new Have-nots.”

Canada’s strategic protectionism sought partnerships with China to maintain its borders and ensure economic stability through an unprecedented trade agreement, both lucrative and internationally envied. In accordance with China’s trade conditions, Canada substantially increased a standing military presence to police economic refugees from the northern States. Canada successfully negotiated water rights for full control of the Great Lakes and annexed their southern shorelines. China’s military support mitigated a northern threat from Russia, ensuring the Northwest Passage remained under Canadian sovereignty, but at a cost. Foreign interests own Canada’s resources now. First Nations treaties were nullified, and federalism reasserted. Cities became places of increasing disparity between the have and have-nots. Infrastructure was managed largely through corporate interests and municipalities aligned with huge conglomerates to ensure their viability.

Government policy reinforced tight control of entry into the country. The immigration point system that used to rate an immigrant’s worth now included a Canadian morals and values assessment. On the surface, Canada was heralded as a model of multiculturalism and acceptance internationally, but the new policies were nuanced. In many ways, it was authoritarian control masquerading as populism. It was a slow build to this state, with the erosion of democratic involvement by the public. “Canada: The Complacent” was the view from outside, and the apathy of the electorate led to successive majority governments with a protectionist, “values”-driven agenda to return Canada to its traditional past. But it was really the response to the physical disasters that provided political interests with all the control they needed. After Hurricane George swept through the East and a tsunami devastated the coast of British Columbia, the public became increasingly concerned with physical safety and looked to the government for stability. Happy to oblige, the spectre of unchecked immigration was slowly raised to distract the public from the selling off of Canada, and ushered in a new political atmosphere of distrust, protection, and exclusivity.

It was the city. Eddie was struck by the “darkness” he felt now. “It didn’t used to be this way,” he thought to himself. “I used to love this drive along the parkway.” Now all he saw was makeshift settlements in between the trees. So many have been displaced to make room for the GoogleMSoft SmartCity⁹ community.

Eddie was lucky. His background in engineering was in demand. He now managed the waste reclamation centre that produced most of the bioelectric power in the region. The technological advances were astounding, and the commitment to green technology a boon for Canada’s economy. But the economic boost certainly hadn’t benefitted everyone. Those on the margins increasingly found themselves more at risk. The atmosphere in the city was one of mistrust and NIMBYism; those without means were scraping to get by. The municipality tried to provide for them, but it was beholden to the new corporate entities: people were now just a line item on a ledger.

⁹ *References* – (Bliss, 2019; D’Onfro, 2019; Wakefield, 2019)

Just before the gates, Eddie noticed a group of people sitting by a fire, circled around a drum. He heard the “thump, thump” and the melodic chant coming from the circle. Their protest had been ongoing for three years now. The barricades were down now, as the police forced the group to settle in the gulley beside the road. The thought of “Reconciliation” was long past; this group struggled not to be forgotten. The “club” acquired the land, gifted by the new government in “gratitude” for ongoing support and generous contributions to their campaign. Sacred lands were remembered but access only imagined.

Eddie drove through the gates, where he was biometrically scanned, and given the green light to continue. It was a long laneway, lined with majestic trees, a perfectly manicured boulevard with flowers of every sort. The climate was so much warmer now that the area newly supported semi-tropical plants and vegetation. The lane opened up to sprawling lawns with sculptured shrubs, harkening back to a time period long past. The building was classic, colonial, with white pillars and large double doors.

There was a flurry of activity as the “club” was preparing for an annual event: “The White Forest Party”¹⁰ It was a curling bonspiel and gala, where everyone dresses in white. It was a fundraiser for a local charity that provides scholarships for university to underprivileged kids. The club had gone all out and transformed the space into a winter wonderland, resembling the world outside the train in *Snowpiercer*¹¹. “Looks wonderful, the organizing committee did a great job,” Eddie commented to Betty, one of the Elders. “This year will be the best ever. We’ve even got pins with a white Maple Leaf for the occasion.” Eddie moved through the *simulation* room towards the ice sheets.

Curling has become the “poster child” for a new Canadian aesthetic: traditional, colonial, the North, Settled. The sport hasn’t changed, if anything it has embraced its roots even more. New technology has allowed for old style corn-brooms to be reintroduced, now as effective as “normal” brooms. Curling now is all *white* clothing or kilts and tams: it’s old Scotland with a twist. As Eddie stepped out onto the ice, he felt pride, but with a tinge of guilt.

(An uncomfortable silence grips the group.

“How do I process this? No way this can ever happen... right?”)

¹⁰ Reference – The White Party: A benefit for Saratoga Bridges, retrieved from <https://saratogabridges.ejoinme.org/MyEvents/TheWhitePartyGala/tabid/1059163/Default.aspx>

¹¹ *Snowpiercer* – a speculative future in which “a failed climate-change experiment has killed all life except for the lucky few who boarded the *Snowpiercer*, a train that travels around the globe, where a [new] class system emerges” (IMDb, 2019).

facilitator: Alright everyone, so here we are. I've just read through the first scenario, and now we are going to have a discussion. Remember, the scenario is designed as a *possible* future, not a definite. In fact, our goal is to assess what the impacts of such a situation might be, and if there are parts that we might deem *undesirable*. We are then tasked with trying to decide, if any conditions exist that might resemble what you've heard, how we could chart a different path, so we don't end up at that same place. So, who wants to start?

... Silence ...

purple: *[sighs heavily] I certainly don't want to live in a place like that. It is just so... so... dark. You know? Only the "few" get to do the things that they like. I certainly don't think that would ever happen in Canada.*

beige: *Yeah, like we have our problems for sure, but there is no way that "we" would ever go down that road. Canadians are... well... we're too nice. That would never happen.*

red: *What are you talking about? We're closer to that reality than you think. I mean look at the rise of [Donald] Trump in the U.S., and [Boris] Johnson across the pond. And what about Trudeau? We're all thinking he is such a nice guy, but just look out west, they hate him, just like his dad. Seems to me, we are in for a rude awakening if things keep going a certain way.*

blue: *It can't happen. No way. Full stop.*

facilitator: Okay, okay. Remember, we're just asking what if it *did* come to pass? How might we react to these conditions? Think about who benefits and who doesn't. What would our society look like? And how might that be reflected in the sport?

red: *Exactly, the idea of wearing whites and curling only existing in a Country Club environment scares me already. I mean curling is supposed to be blue-collar or at least open to everyone.*

orange: *But you can see where this might come from. Like look at the closing of all of these clubs in Canada, and if that continues, what if things only exist in a few centralized clubs? I mean look at our club, you can't really get a game, or at least you gotta be on a waiting list for a long time. Isn't that elitism at its best?*

blue: *I disagree. We aren't elite, and I don't think it could get there. You would have an uprising from the grassroots. At least out west, those small clubs are curling's bread and butter.*

beige: *But the closings are a factor. We aren't building new clubs. Other clubs are hard to get into. What does that leave?*

red: *I agree. Those small clubs are an endangered species if we don't revamp them. It's not like there's a huge new swell of folks clamouring to get to the small towns. It's the city or nothing. That's where the opportunities are.*

facilitator: *But what if? Let's shift a bit, how might things develop to get there? To that situation?*

orange: *I think that it's closer than we want to admit. It's not just curling but all sport is suffering from over-organization and elitism. I mean sure curling doesn't cost a huge amount of money, but there are lots of people that don't have an extra \$800.00 to play. And getting to and fro, it's complicated for lots of people. What if you were a single parent? What then? You got no cover, no help, especially if you're new.*

red: *Exactly! We pride ourselves on being open and inclusive, but does that really play out? I mean again, we come back to being overly white in our sport, so where is the give?*

purple: *I've played at the country-club style places. There are lots of people that want that comfort and image. I mean, wearing whites seems crazy*

to us, but at that place, there was a “White Gala” every year. It was a fundraiser, but what is that selling to the members?

blue: *Yeah, that is harsh to me. It goes against our traditions.*

red: *But isn't that the point? What if some of those traditions close doors rather than open them? If we take it down the road a little, price becomes an issue. Not just in curling but all sports. I mean soccer is pretty inclusive in Canada, but you get to the competitive ranks, and boom, it's about having the means.*

purple: *I honestly can see it. I mean we will do everything to make sure that doesn't happen, but we do have to pay attention to it.*

orange: *I kinda like thinking about this. I mean, it isn't happening on its own. What if there are other things that happen?*

red: *Such as?*

orange: *I mean the economy, relationship to the US, climate change. Okay, it might not exist in this story [laughs]. But sport reflects society. And if conditions change, well, look at our neighbours. A wall? Really?*

facilitator: *And what about the protest at the gates? Any thoughts?*

beige: *I'm not sure really. But I can see it. There is a lot we need to account for moving forward. 20 years from now? I can't really say. But for me, well, we haven't really been honest with our past, even in **this** sport. I'm not sure we can rely on our connections to the past moving us forward. What does it say to someone that is fighting for their recognition?*

red: *It's those damn bagpipes again. Imagine walking in our doors and being reminded that you were colonized and displaced from where you were born, where your ancestors were born, where your whole society existed, and pushed aside. It's crazy to think we are okay with all of this.*

purple: *But I love so much of the curling mystique. It would be so hard to give it up.*

blue: *And what is the alternative anyhow? We don't seem to know another way, at least how we could move forward. I mean our city is built on lands that were taken away, but what does that really have to do with sports?*

red: *That's where I park the bus. Sport is big. It occupies our entire society. We can't leave it out and just play and smile and think everything is okay still. Those days are done. Or at least should be.*

facilitator: So, where do you think we, as curlers, where do we go from here? Again, the scenario is set to be provocative. What can we attend to now, so perhaps this situation might not come about?

orange: *For me, it's opening up to others. I think we try to do a good job, but I'm not sure we can say it's really working. Maybe on the social side, like rentals. But membership?*

red: *I just don't see this place reflecting what is really going on here. It might be the sport. It might be us as members. I'm not sure. But it's got to be different. It's got to change.*

beige: *Yeah but how? I come back to **where** do we start?*

blue: *Well, like I said, I think curling is inclusive, it's just hard to shift our base. I mean there is no turnover, so how can we get other folks in?*

purple: *It can't come from on-high. It has to be us. We need to change. Maybe we just aren't creating the opportunities for others to embrace this space, this sport.*

orange: *I don't think we can just rely on our core tradition as well. Sure, it's fun and social, but there are a lot of things that are fun and social.*

blue: *We know that if people come in the door, there's usually a good feeling. So, let's get them in the door.*

orange: *That is the million-dollar question, right? How? Why would someone come in?*

red: *Why are we the ones talking about this? I just have to ask: are we in the best position to answer that question?*

(Again silence. Darting looks between people.

Uncertain and sombre. Is that our future?)

facilitator: Okay, let's move onto the next scenario. Everybody ready?

Scenario B: A Tale of a New Centre

February 3, 2030: There was a round of applause as the ribbon was cut with a pair of gold, oversized scissors. It was another successful conversion project come to fruition. This was the tenth of its kind, a new type of curling facility. Converting office space into sports facilities was now commonplace. As employment became more decentralized, mobile and remote, office towers were obsolete, and now empty.¹² Developers and landholders looked for new ways to utilize the space. Some spaces became subsidized housing, while others were targeted for new service provision.¹³

Public engagement in government was now open, transparent, and organized. Municipalities governed through consensus, with plebiscites ruling the day (Chidester,

¹² Conversion of office towers and mixed-up space has been on the rise (R. King, 2018; Liu, 2017; Stevenson, 2019). Although there is commitment to seeing these spaces better utilized and open to mixed service provision, there are issues with these new conversions, including the potential to have these new locations be underserved and marginalized (Evans, 2018).

¹³ Centralizing services in one complex has the ability to increase *leisure* time, where activities focused on well-being can be maximized (R. King, 2018).

2019; Reber, 2019). OpenGovernment¹⁴ became a reality, where decisions were pushed out to the public and engagement was mandatory. It took a while to gain traction, but once the public got on board, decision-making became quick, efficient and completely inclusive. “Collective, Community, Collaborative: Be the Change” was the slogan of the day. The change was quick, and driven from the arts community, finding creative solutions to the pressing issues. Activism became the order of the day, where everyone was able to see themselves in “a movement of minds.” The *WeSustain*¹⁵ movement – an organization that occupied and redistributed space to those in need – was all the rage. All vacant space was sought out converted into multi-use habitats with apartments, retail, and other facilities all within a contained unit.

Technology connected everyone, with Internet access provided by community-based networks. The commitment to media literacy was seeded at a young age, leaving no one behind, as youth were prepped to be active, involved citizens when they came of age. Services became centralized, and downtown towers being revitalized into multi-use dwellings. At the same time, small rural centres went through a renaissance. As urban centres redefined themselves, a simpler, agrarian way-of-life became *en vogue*, with young families opting out and moving away, even in the face of exciting technological change. The resurgence of rural communities saw the rise of multi-ethnic communities, and the sharing of values and traditions invigorated these communities, benefitting from new forms of knowledge and customs. The significance of age was revisited, and elders gained reverence. The community valued the elderly and broke down barriers that had isolated them in the past. Everyone was *neighbourly* again.

In the city, communities engaged with political and social justice, where access and equity were paramount. Corporate interests were balanced with new social interests, while alternative modes of employment and work put citizens at the forefront, reshaping land use. The suburbs were no longer a desirable destination; the escape was inward. Transparent, active engagement ruled the day. As employment structures were reshaped, vacancy in downtown towers skyrocketed. No longer were corporate headquarters the preference, and quickly those properties were seen as an opportunity to solve some of the housing shortages. At the same time, rethinking those spaces coincided with a focus on deep health and wellbeing. Not only technological innovations, such as monitoring and individualized healthcare, but also new spaces dedicated to health and wellbeing appeared, with recreation being a key component. In the rural areas, there was consistent growth, socially, economically, and culturally. Much of the expansion was driven by the needs of *new* Canadians. Canada’s new climate reality – a longer growing season in central Canada, and more volatility in other regions – attracted people to the cities *and* the smaller centres. Canada was all about grabbing hold of a fresh, optimistic world.

¹⁴ The notion of Open Government is not new, but the precepts of transparency, accountability, and public engagement (Chidester, 2019; Maccauly & Trueman, 2019; Reber, 2019) highlight how the public may reshape the access to and operation of government (Reber, 2019).

¹⁵ WeSustain – a political movement centering on sustainability, resilience, and social justice. It started as grassroots, action-oriented movement, building on ideas from the Occupy movement in the early 2010s. The movement is fluid, mobile, reactive, and politically significant. It has pushed for opening government, allowing access through online services, and is committed to democratizing all aspects of decision-making.

Daphne was getting out of bed. She hadn't been feeling well lately and it was a struggle this winter. Her apartment was modest but had a south-facing exposure that gave her a feeling of warmth, even in the dead of the cold. At 62, she was feeling her age today, but the changes to the community added liveliness. Daphne gazed outside toward the square. There was a flurry of activity as people were preparing for Diwali, the festival of lights. After "the Fall,"¹⁶ a large contingent of Hindus had settled in their community. The Indo-Canadian trade agreement saw an exchange of knowledge between Canada and India. Canada's open immigration policy offered a good opportunity of which many Indians availed themselves. Now she can't remember a time when the community didn't feel warm, inviting... whole. Now *they* were the drivers of change. Nobody was left out, and sharing cultures, traditions, and values had reshaped the community into a New Canada: one that was continually redefining itself.

The club held a central role in redefining the community. Before, it was a club in decline. Membership was down, and as the community grew older, finances had become increasingly hard to come by. When the Hindus came, the club leaders saw them as a potential balm for their woes. But it didn't happen. It was like fitting a round peg into a square hole. Even though there were some that wanted to try curling, it didn't really fit with their community. Daphne recalled how Irene changed all of that. She became the bridge between the communities. Daphne recalled a conversation with Irene:

"It was so alien at first, but when you look beneath the difference, we're just the same, two sides of the same coin," Irene commented.

"How so?"

"Well, I stopped trying to fit them *into* something, I stopped trying to make them into *our* idea of Canadian and met them where they were."

"But *they* came to our country," retorted Daphne.

"And now it's all *our* country! What is it without *them*? Perhaps, making room means we have to *give* way; it's not squeezing them into *our* way."

Daphne chuckled to herself, "it had to be curling." It wasn't like people at the club didn't know they were in trouble and needed help to survive. But reimagining the club was really a stroke of genius. "Now curling is the centre of everything, or at least the club is," she thought.

The club was located in the old shopping plaza. It was an interesting space with windows all around, but the ice was decent. Reclaiming vacant space was a common trend, as office and retail spaces were taken over to provide what the people really needed. Recreation was a priority now, and technology was playing a big role. Tournaments were seen on CommonView¹⁷, and new VR simulations allowed for near-

¹⁶ The Fall – Indian economic collapse due to climate change and persistent drought in agricultural areas.

¹⁷ CommonView – a viewing port that connects everyone within the community. It is the next generation screen technology with touch sensors, optical interfaces, and AI (Chadha, 2019; Domenikos, 2019; Foremski, 2019; Symanovich, 2019)

real experiences through VRSpace.¹⁸ Teams could even play against each other in virtual space. Location, mobility, and weather were all issues of the past.

It was the social connector for all of us. It was a space to share our traditions, and it became a place to break down barriers. It was Irene that was able to engage some of the leaders from the Hindu community, and simply asked: “what can we do for you?” Simple, but it started a dialogue that led to a new space to learn, socialize, worship and, of course, curl. With one question, the dominos started to fall, and now their club space was not just a curling club, but also a centre for the community.

There was a knock on the door.

“Daphne, it’s Ritesh. Just wanted to check in to see if you needed anything. I heard you were a little under the weather.”

Daphne opened the door, and there was Ritesh holding his son’s hand. Daphne wrapped up Pavan in a warm blanket of a hug: “oh, I’ve missed you... are you coming over to help me finish my quilting?” The boy nodded slowly, looking at his father for approval. Ritesh beamed a reassuring smile and Daphne led the boy into the living room closing the door.

(One of the groups chuckles,

“Well, now we’re getting somewhere.” They hope.)

facilitator: So, what do we think about this one? There seems to be a lot to take in. I know some of you read the scenario in advance. Anyone want to start?

beige: *Seems more plausible to me. At least, there are aspects that I can relate to. I mean look at what’s happening to our society today. Lots of new immigrants. But Canada has always had that right?*

red: *Always? Not so sure about that. Sure immigration, but where people are coming from has shifted. And some places are pushing back against that.*

¹⁸ VRSpace – a virtual reality simulation that stimulates the body in the same manner as normal activity. The users senses are stimulated and respond to visual, physical, and emotional stimuli (Caddy, 2019; Chillag, 2019; Picard, 2009)

Look at what happened in Quebec¹⁹ recently. Is that showing our Canadian tolerance?

blue: *I think that was an isolated case. It's complicated in Quebec. I can't see that happening here in Ontario.*

purple: *I see so many examples of sharing within communities. Look at Brampton, 30 years ago it was all white, now it's such a mix.*

red: *But does that mean things are changing? Do the "older" residents welcome newcomers with open arms? And tell me what that actually looks like?*

orange: *I agree. I think things are different. But in some places, I do see sharing happening. I was amazed travelling around north of Winnipeg and seeing the scale and range of diversity up there. Things are different. Maybe we are closer to things like what is happening in that story than we think.*

facilitator: *That's a good point. Where do we think we are? If the end result is, let's say, full integration between established residents and newcomers and just a little sharing between the two groups, where do we fall now?*

purple: *I think we're doing a pretty good job at it overall. Canada has a long tradition of this sort of thing. Look at me, I'm living proof that barriers can be overcome.*

orange: *But what would have to change to see things really like what we are saw in the story? I don't think we're there yet. I can see a lot of resistance at the same time. Not everyone wants to open Canada's doors wide.*

¹⁹ References – (Bilefsky, 2019; Kestler-D'Amours, 2019; Syed, 2013)

facilitator: Let's talk about that impact. What would have to happen to, let's say, a small curling club in rural Ontario?

blue: *Oh, I think it would take a lot. Like we're seeing, traditions are important. So how do you get away from that? I think there would have to be a big shift in the culture. I still can't see 25 Hindus coming out and curling on a regular basis. Like, what's the incentive for them?*

purple: *But we're back to the same place. I started curling because I wanted to experience something of Canada. Like a truly Canadian sport.*

raconteur: There it is again. A Canadian sport. What *really* does that look like in this day and age? And to whom?

blue: *Again, it looks like there is a split between rural and the city here. I'm not sure I can see it outside of the city, but here, it is definitely possible. At the same time, we aren't really designed for that sort of thing.*

facilitator: How so?

blue: *Hmm. I mean we **are open** here. Everyone is open to everyone else, I think. But I am not sure I could see a "bunch" of Hindus coming in and everyone being super comfortable. It just would be such a switch.*

red: *So, what do we do, have a token or two represent and we all sit back on our laurels?*

blue: *I don't know. It's an issue. But it can happen; look at basketball, it started as a white sport, but now, it's maybe the best example of an inclusive sport, where anyone can be seen in it? Well, sort of.*

orange: *Interesting. Things can change. Maybe we need to focus on the next generation?*

red: *That's the default solution for all this. The next generation will solve this.*

orange: *They at least have the opportunity. I think my daughter experiences "race" etc. differently than I do. I think there is hope.*

purple: *We do have to get more youth involved in our sport.*

beige: *Maybe they just don't see it as cool. I mean it has an older vibe for sure. Kids these days are on their phones all the time. No time for curling.*

blue: *I don't even know if they want to interact like we do. Is sitting around a table and making friends a reality for them today?*

facilitator: *What about the idea of the curling club turning into more of a centre? In both examples so far, the idea of the club morphed into more of a social hub.*

red: *I can definitely see that. In fact, I think we need that in our sport. I look at our club and that atmosphere is partly there, but we could easily promote it. Even look at our social rentals from outside groups. Lots of groups love to come here, try a game and have a good meal. It would be easier to go that route more.*

orange: *I agree. I know league play is important for our members, but I think we could open up the ice more. Have more fun and social things happening. And put some work into the space, so it isn't just curling, but other things as well.*

beige: *I see that in my home club. Where I'm from, it's the place where people meet. Mind you, it is the older generation, but I think that could also be a place for us.*

red: *I can even see it in the city. I think the converted retail space is a little ways off for me, but why not?*

purple: *I can see it happening. There are a lot of underutilized spaces in the downtown, and I'm sure the same is happening outside in rural areas. I think it's a cool concept, I mean you could have all of your shopping, services, and curl in the space place. We don't really think of integrating our spaces much in Canada, but in Hong Kong, there is such limited space, so everything is jammed together. You buy your groceries on the ground floor, have a haircut on another, maybe even go to school. Why not do that in Canada?*

facilitator: Well actually, there are cases of vacant spaces being taken over to create curling facilities. Chicago, Fort Wayne, Columbus Ohio, Portland Oregon, Bowling Green all have clubs that have been created out of converting spaces, like warehouses and shopping malls. There are also examples of hockey arenas getting converted into curling clubs.

blue: *No way! That's crazy, curling taking over hockey! That's rich.*

facilitator: It's out there. One thing you have to think about regarding the future: there are examples of these developments happening out there. Maybe we are aware, maybe not. But the benefit of considering a fully realized scenario is that you, the readers, can see those things *projected* down the road.

blue: *Love it! More curling. Curl wherever, break with the old way of looking at the club. Bring it on.*

orange: *I think that should happen in more places. We need to think more outside the box in Canada. It is so... so rigid. Traditional.*

beige: *Ha. Traditions upon traditions.*

blue: *Might be tough in our city, just look at rents and prices. But maybe.*

red: *Yeah, our city isn't the best example. It is still the centre, but small cities maybe, like a city of 300,000 that isn't the centre of the universe.*

beige: *I don't know, it would be strange to go to curling in a shopping mall. I like the old style. You know? A barn with a few sheets. It's cold. I don't know. It's what I know, it's back to my roots.*

blue: *But there are lots of gyms and things popping up in malls, some even have pools. So why not a curling rink? It's that we just don't see curling that way.*

orange: *I think it would be cool. Like imagine if you could play a team virtually. I have no idea how it would actually work. But it would be awesome.*

beige: *Yeah. I don't know if the virtual reality thing would ever really replace getting out and physically active, but I worry about my kids for sure. They're glued to their screens. It seems more likely that they're going to want an experience through a device than just do things.*

blue: *Maybe VR is a bit far away, but we do need to think about technology. I'm not sure how it might go, but maybe a return to the "old" might be cooler for kids, in time.*

red: *I agree. Curling is old, old, old school.*

blue: *The idea of having the same sensations as real life freaks me out. I don't think that could happen in 10... 20 years. It seems a little far-fetched.*

blue: *That technology is coming though. Just look at why country clubs want us out. They want to put in golf simulators, why not Virtual Reality? It's not here yet, but 15 years from now, it's anyone's guess.*

facilitator: *Remember, we are talking about possibility not probability.*

blue: *Okay, okay. I guess I could imagine that sort of technology coming about. It wouldn't be my cup of tea. And I'm not sure how it would affect our sport. Would curling be the best fit for it? I mean we're social. It's a team thing. It's the bonding.*

orange: *But if kids don't bond that way, does it work? I mean my kid might shoot a game of hoops after school, but then he's back to the screens as soon as he can.*

red: *I don't know. It would be sorta fun. If it was the same experience. All that technology is really close. I just read about the "internet of things." We're gonna have everything connected. Look at Google. They want to test out a totally integrated community right here.²⁰ We're not too far away from that.*

orange: *Yeah, but people are pissed about that as well²¹. That's why I am not sure it will happen here.*

purple: *Gosh, I am really having trouble thinking beyond what I know, what I'm used to. That is part of why it is hard to imagine something different. I can't seem to get outside myself.*

facilitator: *Okay, how about we move on to the last scenario? We can wrap up the discussion afterwards if anyone has anything else they would like to add.*

²⁰ References – (Bliss, 2019; D'Onfro, 2019; Wakefield, 2019)

²¹ Reference – public opposition to Google's Smart City in Toronto (Wakefield, 2019)

Scenario C: Toward a New *EthnoPresence*²²

July 4, 2030: “Canada Realizes Reconciliation in Full.” The headline didn’t do justice to the amazing turn of events. The New TRC party swept into power with a mandate that seemed impossible to achieve. It was a stroke of genius as power brokers from different lobby groups decided to form a new coalition and end the dominance of the three established parties, and the ineffectual Greens. The coalition was formed under the stewardship of Indigenous leaders, environmentalists, social justice advocates, and ethnic community leaders. It was a coup for the so-called left, finding a common goal to reshape Canada’s future. In an unprecedented move; the new party had used all available forms of technology to engage voters, increase turnout, and appeal to a generation lost in the mire of establishment, patriarchal dogma, and an outdated vision of immigration and multiculturalism.

It was a real catalyst for change, where even the most conservative public saw themselves benefitting. Borrowing from New Zealand’s models for Indigenous self-government, a new era of sharing was ushered in. Everyone was at the table and consensus was truly achieved. It was a long and involved process, but in the end, everyone bought into the vision. It helped that *fake news* was a thing of the past, as new forms of journalism now relied on fact-checking and source validation using *myNDCheck*²³ and is the only source of news available for viewing. Corporations saw the quadruple bottom line²⁴ as a real way to ensure their survival, and make sure their assets back only verified, truthful media, leaving little space for nefarious entities to generate enough revenue to exist.

Perhaps the biggest shift was towards a new model for economic sharing. It squarely put the burden of governance and *new* ownership in the hands of those historically oppressed. Models of Indigenous stewardship reshaped the notion of ownership of land, whereby a trust was formed to manage land-based assets, and previous owners became long-term tenants. Revenue was generated and shared among all. It had been a difficult transition as hard-liners from both sides voiced disapproval. In the end, tolerance, sharing, and co-management won the day and a new age for “Canada” was born. It was a realization of the dream for Reconciliation, both in name and practice. As many parts of the world struggled to integrate waves of economic, political, and social refugees, “Canada” became a beacon of hope. All that remained was to rename the country, as the name “Canada” no longer reflected a nation reborn, with a new purpose and reality.

²² *EthnoPresence* – denotes an unpacking of the complex notions of diversity, inclusion, and multiculturalism. It conjures a sense of what has come before, both in physical and cultural form. It reinforces a connection to ethnicity, but it is italicized to locate it under dispute or contested. It is connected to and also separate from its “presence” making it in relation to, adjunct of – with meaning deferred and impermanent.

²³ *myNDCheck* – a fictional technology that uses AI enhanced blockchain (Nair, 2019) to maintain oversight of author’s credentials, news sources, fact checking, and validity of information. It is a monitoring protocol to ensure that news is truthful (Mire, 2018).

²⁴ Quadruple Bottom Line - Sustainable business practices bounded by balancing environmental, social, cultural (including governance), and economic factors in determining viability (Elkington, 1998).

You can't help but admire it. The centre looked down over the town. Built on the Tabletop plateau, it had a sense of majesty as it rose above the trees. It resembled a longhouse, built in the Huron or Haida²⁵ tradition, but this was not an ordinary structure. State-of-the-art, sustainably built, running on geo-thermal power, but that was not the real attraction. It was a powerful, clear message: all are welcome, all are cherished, all come together. The centre was about reconnecting people to the land and represented a new approach to living. The plan was 20 years in the making, with Elders from the Haida Nation reaching out in hopes of finding a new path towards Reconciliation and inclusion. The other local communities at first were hesitant, but the initiative found traction. It was the leaders from the Caribbean community that set the framework of *healing*²⁶. Each group shared their experience: to be heard, to be honoured, and to feel a sense of belonging and connection beyond just their own people.

The centre went well beyond old-style community centres. It was a socio-ethno-cultural manifestation of the desires and hopes the *neighbourhood* brought to bear on a collaborative process. The land itself connected everyone back to millennia of Indigenous ancestry and spirit, honoured past ways of being, embraced a path to heal the violence and oppression that centuries of colonial dominance had inflicted on Indigenous Peoples. Everyone believed in the hope of a redefined a new multiculturalism: an *ethno*Presence to redress the failings of a past Canada, introducing a new approach to self-determination.

Felix was new to the community. His family had travelled from Guatemala during “The Migration.”²⁷ Their family had little, but the hope of *something* led his parents here. It was a tough road, especially through America; it had gotten so much worse down there in recent times. They won the immigration lottery to enter Canada. Although the immigration policy was open and welcomed everyone, economic pressures of a failing US economy had seen tighter restrictions circumscribing Canadian borders.

Settling north of Winnipeg seemed to go against the norm, a smaller centre but still with many qualities that were attractive to his family²⁸. The shifting climate and longer growing season meant an agricultural boom in the region. Lots of different folks were congregating there, so much so that it was a posterchild for a new vision of socio-cultural harmony. Again, the centre featured prominently in that new expression, drawing on multiple traditions and possibilities, with honest discussion and acknowledgment before any steps were taken. It was a slow process, but all members perceived the benefits of collaboration acutely, and the centre was no longer served by a hierarchy, but a flattened holacracy.²⁹ This path led to a new vision of a

²⁵ Reference – http://www.sfu.ca/archaeology-old/museum/danielle_longhouse/keepers/housing.html

²⁶ References – (Sutherland et al., 2014)

²⁷ The Migration – a decade long caravan of economic and climate refugee that traveled to Canada from southern regions (Central America, South America).

²⁸ References – (Bonifacio & Drolet, 2017; Editor, 2019)

²⁹ Holacracy – a management style that flattens hierarchy and encourages personal, individual empowerment (Editor, 2014; Groth, 2018; Zappos, 2019)

cultural/community centre, where conversation, learning, healing, and sharing occupied the forefront. The centre was a connector for all. Physical cultural activity was the focus, to reintroduce a new form of sustainability. Stewardship of and integration with the land was key. Curling was adopted as the recreational activity of choice in the winter months. It was played in a hybrid environment with games played both indoors and outside. It was a decision embraced by all as a return to an outdoor aesthetic reminiscent of its roots and connection to winter. The facility's renewable *PowerStack*³⁰ allowed for control of the ice in both environments. Laughter, respect, and fun ruled the day, and the break with traditions that had isolated the sport in the past. No more pipes, no more kilts, no more settler-styled photos from a painful past, nothing that resembled the oppressive colonialism from a by-gone age.

Felix was all smiles as he entered the great hall. The warmth seemed to greet him as he came through the doors. His teammates were waiting to go to the outdoor rink: "Hola!"

(The group seems ready and eager to speak on this story.

There's a brightness to the mood. Willingly, the group dives in)

purple: *Can I start?*

facilitator: Absolutely. Go for it.

purple: *I want this. It makes me feel happy. I hope we can make this version of the future happen.*

blue: *Sure. It would be nice to have that come about. But think of what would have to change. I mean isn't it talking about **full** Reconciliation? What are the chances of that happening?*

red: *Yeah, for certain. Just do a survey of people in the downtown. How many do you think would give up their condos? Their homes? 'Cause that's what we are talking about. All of Canada's major centres would have claims against them.*

³⁰ The PowerStack – a new generation geothermal power plant servicing the facility (Brightmore, 2018; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2006)

blue: *No one is going to go for that.*

orange: *I grew up close to Winnipeg. There is enough tension around that sort of thing today. I can't imagine what would happen if **full** control is given back. I like the idea, but in reality? Not likely.*

facilitator: But what if we could move towards that sort of thing? Are there other models out there? In Vancouver, the Musqueam people have leasehold of properties on their land in one of the richest neighbourhoods in the city. It does show there are different models of ownership that might work.

red: *I can't see that. Too many corporate interests in the downtown area of most cities. People won't give up what they have. Not to feel better about what happened hundreds of years ago.*

blue: *Is it our responsibility to pay for things that our ancestors did? I am on the fence about that. I mean sure, something needs to be done, but to give everything that was taken back? What about what my great-grandfather built? He tamed the land and made it into a successful farm. It's still there. My brother took it over. It's part of who I am.*

red: *But isn't that one of the issues? Like, sure, things were built and maybe our forefathers...*

purple: *And mothers...*

red: *Okay, and fore-mothers made something. But what did they actually **tame** or **settle**? Weren't there **already** people here? Maybe you're right and they did a lot to make Canada what it is today, but there is still... sort of a stench about it. And I hate to say it, but if curling holds onto that sort of stuff, it's almost like we are endorsing that story about **our** country.*

orange: *How does curling "hold onto" anything?*

red: *I thought we talked about it already. The Scottish lass? Tartans? Bagpipes? Or the old photos on the wall? Doesn't that continue to show that connection?*

blue: *But what about **our** heritage? My family tree links me back to the UK, but we have been here for four generations! So, I have to forget about that? I don't agree with that.*

orange: *I don't think it's about forgetting.*

beige: *Canada is all about immigrants. And we have this official language/culture thing going on. Curling fits into that, doesn't it?*

red: *Yeah, and isn't that problematic? Official languages. Distinct cultures. But how did that get established, at least, at whose expense?*

facilitator: *But remember we are taking a leap and trying to imagine a situation where we have given up our control over Canada as it stands today. What would have to happen for that to occur? And how might that be reflected in curling?*

orange: *But isn't that the point? I don't see us ever getting there. So why bother with it? To me, it would take a lot to give up the traditions we have. Both in curling, and society.*

blue: *I don't see it that way. The important things to me are connecting and the fun. So why not change all that to reflect a new reality?*

beige: *I can see it. It wouldn't take much. I feel that we are making positive strides toward that. I mean the government has acknowledged stuff, Reconciliation etc. It's at least moving somewhere.*

purple: *It is difficult for sure, I'm not sure there is a good answer, but we are making strides towards that. I just went to see a talk at the university, and the speaker made a land acknowledgment.*

orange: *Yeah, my kids' school does that every morning on the announcements. I think it's good for the awareness of what happened.*

red: *But what does it really change? Awareness? After such a long time, and such hardship, we are just saying, "yeah, we get it. We took your land, and you were here first. We aren't giving it back, but we know it's yours?" That seems patronizing to me.*

blue: *But it's a step. Each step gets us closer. For me, curling could do a lot more to open up. But it might make some of the members a bit cross.*

orange: *What do you mean?*

blue: *Moving away from the kilts and bagpipes.*

blue: *I agree, but we have to start somewhere. I like the idea of a new space. Like in the story. Maybe something we haven't seen before. I know most clubs don't have the money for that type of building, but opening our doors to community may be part of the answer.*

orange: *But don't we do that already? Like we aren't stopping people at the gates now, so what does opening up to the public look like?*

red: *That's what I come back to. How do you do that? We don't have direct connections to other communities, so we open up to the neighbourhood mostly. Or to people that want to play our sport. And let's say we do manage to bridge that gap, do those people live close by? How do they get to our new centre? There is a lot to think about.*

facilitator: *Let's look a bit deeper at the scenario. It isn't just First Nations participating; what about other traditions? How might that work?*

purple: *To me, I can see that happening. I love the mutual respect and it's already part of curling. It is really important.*

orange: *We police ourselves. Bad intentions or play isn't tolerated. It's the gentlemanly sport thing again.*

purple: *We do have to remember that it's a progression. When I started curling, it wasn't the best feeling, but now, I'm just one of the gang. I coach, I do skills development, I volunteer at the leagues.*

red: *But we are still nowhere near that... I mean what is in the story. We aren't having a bunch of other ethnic groups all getting together and finding a new path for a traditional sport that represents Canada? The winter? The ice and snow? Hard to see that being from the Caribbean. I mean I can't see them liking the cold that much.*

orange: *Whoa, whoa! Now we are entering **that** uncomfortable place. That's borderline offensive.*

bruthR: *Damn straight!*

blue: *But it's sorta what I was feeling, like maybe they don't like the cold when they first come here. And so, coming out and playing on ice isn't a big draw.*

purple: *But there we go again. I started curling because it was in the winter and connected me to Canada. I think there still is room for that. But maybe we can open things up a little more.*

orange: *It's hard to get there.*

blue: *I think it's pretty simple.*

orange: *How so?*

blue: *To me, it's the "club." Maybe that is where we start?*

orange: *I don't see how that is different.*

blue: *What I mean is, if we can change from being a "club" to what is suggested in this story, maybe we have a little space to break from the past. "Club" seems sort of exclusive, even though I know curling really isn't. Does someone looking in think that? Especially if they have to join and all that.*

purple: *I get it. I see that as a good step, and I like what the other story was talking about as well. The curling "centre" as a meeting place, a social venue for the community. I think this story just takes it one more step.*

beige: *And the whole sustainability thing is also something to keep in mind. Look at where the costs are for our club. It's the ice. And if our winters are more messed up, what then? Sure, if they are colder: great. But if they get warmer? Maybe we can't run the club if we don't look into greening up the place.*

red: *We could easily do that today. Except the current government took away so many of the incentives.*

orange: *I think the city can help as well. But what about the rural aspect? Do they have the same opportunities?*

red: *A bit more difficult but reasonable to assume they want to lower costs long-term.*

facilitator: *So, what do we think about getting there? You mentioned the word "club." Is there anything else that might shift to get there?*

red: *I still go back to: how do you get enough of it through the door?*

orange: *Enough of what?*

red: *Let's call it **diversity**. Our membership is fixed. Topped out. We can't just get rid of people, so if we are going to meet some sort of imaginary target, we need a better plan.*

orange: *First and foremost, we need our club to survive. I am not convinced it is going to come from new immigrants. Maybe a part, but what if we could get a bunch of other people in here.*

blue: *Everyone bring someone else out to curl. It still is primary connections that get people to join in.*

blue: *I agree. We need to look at **all** the changes happening. Less youth, older or aging members, where do we need to focus?*

red: *Well, that is the billion-dollar question. We have some initiatives in place, but they aren't hitting where we want. I mean to attract people that don't necessarily look like us.*

blue: *Ouch, well, that was blunt.*

red: *Let's be real. If curling were growing like gangbusters let's say, would we have this same push for diversity? Would the question change? Are we just looking at "non-traditional folk" as a way to put a finger in the dike?*

purple: *I don't know. Sure, there is a financial part, but I don't really think that is where it starts. I think it's more curling is just plain fun. And more people should experience it.*

red: *I'll play devil's advocate and say, if there was huge growth in the sport, I don't even see us sitting here today. Lots of sports are fun, so why should people care about curling?*

orange: *I'm not sure we could ever get to where this story is set, but I want to see curling open up. I think it holds a unique place in our history, even if that is challenging. And it's the social side and the fun that*

*really is the lasting impression. For me, screw where it came from, curling is more than that now. Curling **can** meet that future from the story. It's up to us. We need to get it there.*

purple: *Remind me, who is the “we” again?*

~ *End of Scene* ~

4.3.3 Director's Notes – “If I Only Had My Way...”

The future state of sport is as uncertain as any other phenomenon. Social, political, environmental, technological, and cultural determinants influence our society, and in turn, affect our constructed social forms, sport being one of these. Sport is under pressure to adapt to and meet the challenges of a shifting demographic landscape in Canada, which can bring notions of tradition within sport under scrutiny. This adaptation requires a “rethinking” of sport, from its delivery to facilities to held traditions. The scene is created to explore that uncertainty by using story-based constructs to imagine different possibilities occurring in our near future. The *participant actors* react to those new worlds from their current, present-day reflections and envision the impact on the world they know. The scene also reflects a typical workshop structure, where participants are asked to suspend their disbelief and engage in the process. From my experience, future thinking often allows people to forget their immediate managerial or operational concerns, and creatively imagine something fresh and novel.

The three scenarios were imagined as a method to represent extrapolations of the current situation in curling. These scenarios were developed based on current trends and

underlying driving forces of change; as such, they do in fact reflect possible future conditions that may come to pass. The value of this method comes not from a prescriptive evaluation of one possibility and means to solve the situation; rather, it is the range of possibilities that provide a flexible, adaptive, and innovative pathway to respond to change. It is via the exposure to *possible* but not necessarily *probable* outcomes that “we” can prepare “in the event of,” to respond with an informed, concerted effort as conditions emerge. The notion of change is a given, and embracing uncertainty offers an approach to meet a variety of outcomes, rather than being constrained by one path to manage future developments. The context is drawn from actual trends that are affecting curling today, imagined 15 to 20 years in the future. Although the scenarios were never literally presented to the participants, themes gleaned directly from participant accounts offered the foundation for the dialogue and their voices were thus extrapolated into the narrative.

Adherence to and departure from traditions surfaced often as a theme within the discussions. The participants grappled with letting “go” of part of curling culture and also with what must be held onto for the sport to remain connected to those integral parts of its heritage. In the scene, the discussion often seems circular, returning to ask the same questions, or spinning in place looking at the same issue, over and over again. It is valuable to show that although participant actors express those tensions that come to bear on curling, articulating a resolution is much more elusive. In the scene, the discussions often comes to a head and the path forward, when looked at from the centre of dominance, never offers a simple way out. The dialogue loops back upon itself, and it

generates confusion, ambivalence, and tension. In the end, the text leaves the reader with questions alluding to broader implications for curling. These alternatives are further explored in the discussion related to what themes and criticisms are *not* being spoken about in the context of curling.

5.0 Discussion

The purpose of this research was to explore the experiences of curlers and to situate those experiences within a critical investigation of curling club culture(s). Through participant interviews and the process of writing the performance text, thematic content was explored to reveal conflicts, tensions, and challenges related to the culture(s) surrounding and within curling. The analysis offered insights to better understand the complexities of sport and diversity. This chapter is organized into two sections, [Dominant Narratives of Curling Experiences](#) and [Neglected and Hidden Narratives](#), with subsections that focus the discussion. Throughout the sections, passages are taken from the performance text to demonstrate insights generated from the analysis. The analysis links to relevant literature introduced in the literature review. Further, there are cross-references, which hyperlink to relevant segments in the performance text. The hyperlinks are identified with underlined brackets and page numbers, i.e. [\[xxx\]](#),

5.1 Dominant Narratives of Curling Experiences

The research emphasizes narratives and their impacts on several discourses dealing with sport and diversity. The following section outlines the most salient narratives that surfaced through the participant interviews. The dominant narratives are (1) [Curling's Victorian Legacy](#), (2) [Curling as Social Connector and Community Builder](#), (3) [Curling's Grassroots Identity Struggle](#), (4) [Curling as Canada's Other National Sport](#), and (5) [The Competing Interests of Diversity as Social Good and](#)

Financial Driver. These were narratives drawn from the real participants' interview sessions. *Participant actors* are used as characters in the performance text to represent particular points-of-view based on an amalgamation of content derived from the interviews. Although each of the *participant actors* seemingly represents content drawn from participant interviews, none are a direct representation of any one actual participant.

5.1.1 *Curling's Victorian Legacy*

Curling's cultures are informed by a colonial heritage that expresses a settler mentality (Allain & Marshall, 2018; Creelman, 1950; Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001). As mentioned, curling's culture in Canada is linked to Victorian worldview (Pezer, 2003), the legacy of which informs customs and rituals that are maintained today. During the interviews, participants referred to tradition and cultural artifacts, such as bagpipes, the handshakes before and after games, and particular modes of socializing, such as a drink after the game, where the winners buy the losers a round. Other, subtler, tradition was also evident, such as old photos on the wall depicting historical scenes of early curling and courteous or gentlemanly play. Often, tradition seemed innocent or harmless, as their intent was all in the spirit of the game.

Yet, as elements of framing culture(s) of curling clubs, these aspects of curling add to an aesthetic that largely expresses origins that are White, European, and with a set of values that link to a specific version of Canadian history, i.e. settler motifs and the pioneering of Canada. The reliance on tradition within sport is not unique to curling, as

many sports rely on tradition for validation (Carrington, 2010). However, a critical examination of tradition within the context of Canada and its dominant cultural forms was vital within the context of diversity.

The recurring narrative of the settler mentality was connected to curling's small-town Canada origins (particularly in the Prairies) and the importance of club life in those communities as a social connector (Mair, 2007, 2009). Participants expressed experiences that generated a narrative enshrining small-town values, such as the blue-collar aesthetic, Protestant work ethic, and "gentlemanly" politeness and fair play (Pezer, 2003). Attendant to that narrative was a tradition that exemplified a small-town, community-focused lifestyle (Mair et al., 2019; Pezer, 2003). Some traditions, such as politeness and courteous play were universal across clubs, while others were region-specific.

As mentioned in the literature review, the narratives in curling upheld certain aspects of tradition as permanent (Maguire, 2011), and there was effort to maintain these as part of the culture. For example, buying a round of drinks could be considered as a welcoming gesture in a social atmosphere meant to introduce newcomers to the sport. Additionally, the aura of nostalgia was important for some members as it connected them to a deeper sense of belonging, such as family bonds, growing up around the sport, or as related to national pride (i.e. The Brier or Olympics). For others, particularly for newer curlers or those learning to curl later in life, tradition played a lesser role and sometimes led to ambivalence in maintaining certain rites or rituals. For example, although bagpipes came up in multiple interview sessions, the response was

varied from passionate and emotional responses to distaste and feelings that this association kept the sport in the past or painted it as old. This mirrors research by Mills and Hoerber (2013), which identified that tradition and artifacts may in fact function as a barrier to some participating in sport.

In the performance text, this contradiction was brought forward to explore the different perspectives on tradition, related to the narrative of colonial heritage:

orange: Wow. I just get chills every time I hear those pipes. It is such an important thing for our sport.

red: Why do you feel it's sooooooo important? I don't see it at all. I mean it's so rare that you actually see a piper anymore.

blue: I didn't even realize it was part of the tradition of the sport until I saw the Brier on TV.

*beige: Curling comes from Scotland. I mean they still get the **rocks** from a couple of quarries, don't they? That is something that is so strange to me.*

red: I mean the kilt and the connection to Scotland. Does that really matter at all?

orange: For me, it is really important. It connects us back to curling's roots.

[\[116\]](#)

Often in the interviews, participants questioned whether given aspects of tradition were a necessity, or if they could be given up out of the desire to address the more significant issue of lack of diversity in the club. The above passage indicates a conflict between settler heritage/colonialism and its association with curling's beginnings in Canada (Pezer, 2003), and how that might be perceived from outside the dominant culture(s) by

new Canadians, immigrants, or minority groups (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; C. King et al., 2007; Spaaij et al., 2019). As Spaaij (2015) wrote: “the social and cultural norms that organised sports embody may potentially lead newcomers or minorities to feel alienated or marginalized” (p. 304). The performance text illustrated the alliance between curling tradition and colonialism, which may run counter to the encouragement of a more diverse participation. It also identifies the challenges for diversity programs in practice, as it suggests a need to balance programs to increase diversity without alienating existing members (Spaaij, 2015).

The symbols that were found in the curling club, such as the iconic Scottish Lassie, tartans, and even vintage photos, have meaning for the participants and offer a historical connection to curling’s roots in Scotland as well as in early Canada. However, when asked about these symbols, there was little knowledge of what they actually represented, or moreover, what they might mean to people without any legacy ties to the United Kingdom. Scholars, such as Kidd (2013b) and Allian (2011), considered the significance of such symbols and their association with national identity, as well as how they contribute to the sense of timelessness and permanence so important to sport tradition.

In the participant interviews, there were charged, emotional responses when we discussed removing certain artifacts, rituals, and tradition from the sport. Some saw the removal of the bagpipers as a loss of connection to curling’s roots. For others, changing any tradition whatsoever was seen as detrimental to the sport. Thus, the image of the

Scottish Lassie in the curling club resonated with historical legacy, and maintained a comforting sense of permanence:

raconteur: I'm looking out on the sheets of ice. It seems pretty innocent, just ice and rings and lines. It's what you expect to see at a curling club, at least from all of the clubs I have been to.

Who is she?

There are a few teams out there. They are serious right now – consultation about the next shot.

Why is she there?

The score is tied. It's in the eighth end, last rock's about to be played. It's tense.

She's the Scottish Lassie

But no one seems to notice. She's just part of the background. A non-descript face looking out onto the ice.

History. Tobacco. Sponsorship. Legacy. Hidden in plain sight. [116]

In the performance text, the narrator's self-reflection was deployed as the actual substance of the logo went unnoticed by participants. As a symbol, the logo reinforces both a legacy connection to a colonial heritage in Canada, as well as a roundly ignored association with a now-defunct sponsorship by the tobacco industry. Thus, the symbol illustrates how parts of a historical legacy may be forgotten or hidden yet persist in signifying through their continued use (Reid & Mason, 2017). As Mills and Hoerber (2013) stated, the display of symbols and artifacts often reflect the values and beliefs of those associated with the dominant culture in the club environment. Thus, for curling,

the symbology displayed continues to galvanize colonial tradition, and requires critical evaluation of its impact, in light of how curling clubs seek to encourage a more diverse clientele.

Further, as Pettigrew (1979) stated, the culture in organizations refers to “shared meanings, myths, and assumptions” (p. 576). Thus, for newcomers or minorities, participation involves an implicit imperative to assimilate into curling’s dominant culture. However, if that culture represents a colonial legacy that is alienating, participation becomes less attractive and belonging to the sports club objectionable. The Other is required to make a decision to be complicit in the symbology and tradition in order to feel welcomed in that culture (Li et al., 2015; Spracklen et al., 2015).

Further, the impact of sustained use of colonial symbols within Canada requires more attention from scholars considering sport culture as to how their continued use may act as a form of oppression (Reid & Mason, 2017, p. 386). As such, cultural forms associated with the predominantly White sport of curling, along with visual, cultural expressions that do not critique past legacy, constitute a silencing of other ways of attaching to new possibilities and conventions in the sport, and perhaps offering a more complete representation of Canada’s demographics.

5.1.2 *Curling as Social Connector and Community Builder*

Another narrative that surfaced from the interviews was the curling club’s role as a social connector and location that promotes community engagement. The performance text demonstrated this narrative related to the positive attributes of sport in general and

its particular benefits for club members. Participants recounted experiences that invoked the fun, enjoyable social activities, and optimism around the ability to play throughout one's lifecycle into old age, whereby they could remain active, mentally engaged, and socially connected (Caldwell, 2005; Crawford et al., 1991; Mair et al., 2019).

Participants were aware of and referenced these values as exemplary of the sport. This sentiment was crafted into the performance text to illustrate their importance for curling:

***beige:** Curling is so social though. Where else do you get that sitting around after the game feeling? I used to play hockey, and we might go out for a beer but just with our team.*

***blue:** You wouldn't think about it, I mean having a beer with the other team... unless maybe if you ended up at the same bar.*

***purple:** It really is something in curling. The whole thing of "buying the other team a round." I appreciate it. You end up talking with everyone. Not all the time, but for sure sometimes. I think it adds a lot to the sport. It's all about being social and courteous. [120]*

Thus, participants referred to curling's highly social nature as a foundational tradition of the sport, which was seen as a beneficial quality to attract new membership. This significant attribute shaped the narrative presented in the performance text revealing how curling differs from other sports. The social capacities of the sport were also seen by participants as important aspects driving community in the club. This mirrored Caldwell's (2005) research into the value of sport for community integration. Not only was curling seen as a conduit for that integration, but tradition within the sport also helped facilitate community building, which supported Mills and Hoeber's (2013)

findings concerning the importance of artifacts and tradition in community connection. Thus, curling is built on social connections, with tradition, artifacts, and an overall atmosphere that all support community building.

The curling club represents a location where social interactions are encouraged and built into the events. For example, bonspiels not only involve organized on-ice play, but also fun activities, raffles, and promotions for those members off-ice in between games. The value of the curling club as *more than just a place* was recognized in the experiences of participants. As Mair's (2009) research stated: "clubs are not just outlets for physical activity and socializing but also provide informal networks of support" (p. 463). Thus, the club as a site for social connectivity becomes an integral part of the social fabric of a community outside its primary function as a place to participate in the sport (Angeloni & Borgonovi, 2016; Rich & Giles, 2015; Spaaij et al., 2019). It proves to be a place that already supports diversity, albeit more related to aging populations, and not visible minorities (Mair, 2009; Mair et al., 2019). Thus, writing the narrative around community building necessitated the performance text be set in the club environment to show how curling fosters an atmosphere of welcome and social connection to outsiders.

Further, scholars such as Mills and Hoerber (2013) researched sport as a site for opportunities directed at immigrants to acculturate to their adopted community with encouraging outcomes. Spaaij (2019) investigated the role of sport clubs and diversity, and their support of belonging, friendship, and community. Sport and sport clubs demonstrably offer important pathways for newcomers to belong to, and integrate into,

communities (Mills & Hoerber, 2013; Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019). There is, however, a contradiction in the case of curling, as it appears to be a highly social sport that is open and welcoming to outsiders, but is still predominantly White, and unable to attract a higher level of non-White participants. For curling, it is essential to explore the unique characteristics of its tradition and club cultures in relation to how those elements may impede newcomers' ability to participate, and to the associated challenges in assimilating into that dominant culture. As Spaaij's research has shown, this tension around how to move towards greater diversity is challenging (Spaaij et al., 2019), and even as curling offers a culture predisposed to social connection, each sport club requires a concerted effort on behalf of multiple stakeholders to demonstrate real change within their organizational culture(s) (Berry, 2005; Janssens & Verweel, 2014; Spaaij et al., 2018). Ensuring that newcomers and immigrants feel welcomed in the club environment remains vital. The club represents a unique location where community building is fostered, and immigrants have an opportunity to integrate into larger, dominant cultures (Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019).

Furthermore, sewn silently into the narrative of social connection and community was the effect tradition has on the feeling of being welcome or belonging to a club. For many participants, the club represented a means to expand their social networks and form long-lasting relationships (Fader et al., 2019; Spaaij, 2015). From the interviews, some members noted that their immediate group of friends had been developed through playing, while other members met significant partners through social events, such as social nights or dances, fundraising, and volunteering (Byers, 2013;

Doherty et al., 2014; Thiel & Mayer, 2009). However, as Mills and Hoeber (2013) and Doherty and Taylor (2007) argued, a participant's ability to have a positive association or connection with the club was dependent on the environment (p. 24). For Mills and Hoeber (2013), artifacts upheld a specific vision of a club's internal values, such as those of success or prestige. However, for newcomers and immigrants, artifacts had the reverse effect as they did not represent a meaningful value that they associated with connecting to the community in the club (p. 494). The nourishing sense of belonging was equally valuable to existing membership and newcomers; nevertheless, the significance of the artifacts and symbols may have a quite different meaning and impact on newcomers. As such, club leadership needs to be aware of possible adverse effects their symbols represent for Others, and also be sensitive to how negative associations impact outsiders' ability to assimilate into club culture.

The performance text was crafted as a compelling form to illustrate the complexity of the notion of belonging, and how it is not equally shared amongst members. The contrary views indicate places of tension regarding the implementation not only of initiatives related to diversity, but more importantly, the difficulty in enacting change (Spaaij et al., 2018). As Spaaij et al (2019) argued, "change is not necessarily a given, even if the desire to change conditions is present" (p. 10). Traditions in curling may be seen to denote permanence or stability, or to connect those involved to past ways of being; nonetheless, openness and welcome as a tradition in curling is not as simple as one might imagine:

blue: It think it reflects the city, at least this neighbourhood.

purple: When I started 30 years ago, I was the only non-white at our club, not this one mind you.

beige: Oh really? What was that like?

purple: I see things changing but we have a long way to go.

beige: I don't care, everyone is welcome here. It doesn't matter if they are white, beige, black or pink. [145]

The text illustrates the sense of curling being a welcoming sport, yet there was no consistency in what that meant for participants. Further, the *participant actors* identify curling's culture as welcoming to all, but the removal of "race" also represents a colourblindness that hides the necessity to address inequalities facing racialized people, and what requirements are essential in addressing a lack of diversity in the club. As Apfelbaum, Norton and Sommers (2012) stated, colour-blind policy often nullifies inequalities experienced by visual minorities and their opportunities to participate in sport. Thus, there is tension between the attitude of openness and welcome in the curling club environment, and how that attitude maintains colourblindness in relation to diversity, which must be deconstructed to expose potential inequalities or barriers to inclusion.

The narrative of social connection and community building points to the challenge for local clubs that seek to encourage diversity; at the same time, it maintains beliefs that may contribute to tensions or barriers to successfully meeting their

expectations. There is also an implication for national institutions that mandate full access and inclusion without addressing the practicality of implementing programs at the local level, including funding considerations, staff expertise, and community support (Canadian Heritage, 2019; Kidd, 2013c; Misener & Doherty, 2009). For many clubs, their willingness to embrace and encourage diversity is reinforced by the very same narrative of social connection; however, existing tradition may introduce conditions that preclude a sense of belonging and connection to community, particularly for new immigrants or visual minorities, due to chronic inequalities.

5.1.3 *Curling's Grassroots Identity Struggle*

Through the writing of the performance text, a narrative emerged concerning the notion of a grassroots identity, which referenced recurring conversations from participants. The idea of a grassroots identity referenced the roots of curling in small towns and as an expression of a blue-collar attitude. However, the identity also noted a tension, as participants identified changes in the sport towards a professionalism that prioritizes high-performance and Olympic success over local club development. Historically, Pezer (2003) submitted that curling's growth was due to the development of clubs in small towns, particularly across the Prairies. Yet today, although curling still relies on clubs as the main delivery of the sport (Mair, 2007; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001), the membership, particularly in urban areas, no longer reflects the same blue-collar origins. The performance text illustrated the tradition of the local club as ground-zero for the sport:

***red:** Still, we can't escape that our roots have shaped this sport in a particular way. It's not basketball or hockey. I mean you can't curl in the local playground.*

***blue:** I agree, and the **club** is all connected to that. I mean it isn't as exclusive as a golf and country club. But clubs are the roots of our sport.*

***orange:** It's a different kinda club through. It's **blue collar**. It comes from a different place. [\[126\]](#)*

In this passage, the role of the club is inextricably connected to grassroots or small-town connotations. Some participants were adamant that the portrayal of curling needed to remain faithful to its grassroots and small-town character, while others embraced the role of the club in urban areas, and even country clubs. Often, participants related that small-town feeling to their upbringing, family tradition, and life in smaller centres. Yet, most participants curled at a club in a large urban centre. This showed a tension in the narrative as it expressed reinforcement of a small-town, grassroots, blue-collar vision of curling, while the material situation expressed a reality that was contradictory (i.e. urban, middle to upper-class); indeed, some participants also had memberships to country clubs. Thus, the narrative indicated a complex relationship between a view informed by legacy and tradition, and yet seemingly contradictory to changes in the sport today.

Another, related tension with regard to curling's identity concerned how to account for country clubs as part of the narrative, and whether or not they represented the tradition that curling (and curlers) wished to promote. Some participants noted that country clubs represented something other than the traditional club, and therefore, were

not necessarily characteristic of curling overall. That tension was explored in the text regarding what the true image of curling should be:

red: Exactly, the idea of wearing whites and curling only existing in a Country Club environment scares me already. I mean curling is supposed to be blue-collar or at least open to everyone.

orange: But you can see where this might come from. Like look at the closing of all of these clubs in Canada, and if that continues, what if things only exist in a few centralized clubs? I mean look at our club, you can't really get a game, or at least you gotta be on a waiting list for a long time. Isn't that elitism at its best?

blue: I disagree. We aren't elite, and I don't think it could get there. You would have an uprising from the grassroots. At least out west, those small clubs are curling's bread and butter. [164]

In the passage, *participant actors* were reluctant to see curling become an elitist sport, where an association with higher socio-economic demographics such as seen in tennis might be incorporated, as curling's image relies on an infrastructure of small-town origins and growth (Bicket, 1982; Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001). Overall, participants were resistant to and downplayed an association with country clubs and lauded the affordability of curling compared with other sports. Again, the narrative indicates a desire for curling to maintain an image of affordability and open to all; ensuring it does not become entangled with elitism, and thus distancing curling from its humble beginnings.

Moreover, participants referred to a conflict between grassroots and elitism, where more resources were directed toward high-performance goals by national

institutions, such as Curling Canada, Own the Podium, and others which aim to foster Olympic and international success. For some participants, this indicated a trend toward professionalism, and contradicted where they saw curling's foundation, (i.e. grassroots, local clubs). Barrick, Norman and Mair (2016) described how curling's trend towards professionalism resulted from the sport receiving Olympic status. Although Canada has had success in international tournaments in the past (World Championships), the sport's Olympic status imposed a new level of professionalism onto the sport. This new professionalism led to the rise of professional teams focused on curling as a year-round job, making it improbable that a local club team could win a national championship or have a chance to represent Canada in the Olympics. Again, the narrative presented in the performance text indicates a tension between the nostalgia of curling's egalitarian approach to national competitions of the past, and the modernization of the sport, which brings a new professionalism and emphasis on high-performance competition, but also increases public awareness of the sport (Barrick et al., 2016). As Canadian curling continues to achieve success at the international level, its grassroots narrative and accompanying tradition requires adjustment to curling's new reality. The international success of curling also reinforces a sense of national pride and expression of Canadian identity (J. Fox, 2014; Wyman, 2014), which is discussed in the next section.

5.1.4 *Curling as Canada's Other National Sport*

As discussed in the literature review, the association between sport and national identity has garnered a great deal of attention from sport scholars. Arguably, curling has a unique position in Canada's lore and represents an unofficial national sport (Barrick et

al., 2016; Mair, 2007). During the participant interviews, this sentiment arose in relation to curling's prominent position as regards to Canada's national identity: "*maybe hockey is our obsession and curling's our passion?*" [from performance text, [Canada's Passion](#)]. The narrative explored the repercussions of such a strong identification with Canada, and the performance text illustrated the recurring notions of curling and winter as expressions of an idealized Canadian essence:

blue: *Not really, I mean I joined because I wanted something to do in the winter. Canadian winters are so long. And it is something that links back to our heritage.*

beige: *I agree. I feel more Canadian when I curl. It's something that connects us with our True North.*

orange: *In Winnipeg, they have an Ironman bonspiel for the Heart and Stroke ... it's in February on the river, it's actually at the Forks. It's a really big deal. It's all about really just staying warm and pushing the rocks down the ice with your broom and whatever. To me, that's like celebrating winter with our sport. [118]*

These excerpts testify to the appeal of curling as a winter sport with a strong reminder of its heritage. Yet, there is no interrogation of what that legacy conceals in relation to a colonial past, and the assumption that there is only one heritage for Canada; that of a settler-colonial, White, European ancestry. Further, curling's assumed winter motif reinforces a settler mentality, as Canada is depicted as wild, empty, and tamed through a resilient, outdoorsy, frontiersman-like determination (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Lawson, 1995; McClintock, 1992). Thus, the historical image of curling, as played on frozen

ponds, harkens back to that ideal, settler portrait, and the depiction of curling as a simple, natural, and benign winter pastime.

However, as Allain (2011) illustrated, the “natural” association of hockey as played outdoors on frozen lakes is constructed and supported by tradition, myths, and lore, and elevates hockey’s naturalness as a characteristic of Canadian identity (p. 7). Further, those involved with hockey (particularly at the national level) have promoted the sport as illustrative of Canada’s rugged outdoors, winter, and wilderness. The sport, however, is largely played indoors, in climate-controlled facilities guaranteeing hockey is available beyond wintertime. This situation is echoed in curling, which is also romanticized as a winter sport, and which also has less tangible linkage to its outdoor origins. This association of curling with winter begins with its historical roots where the sport was played outdoors on frozen lakes (D. Smith, 1981; Welsh, 1985), yet also benefits from curling’s presence as a winter sport. Barrick and Mair’s (2019) examination of Learn to Curl Leagues for newcomers to Canada exposed how such leagues are influential in creating social bonds and connections to community. Although the research does not emphasize the natural, outdoor quality of the sport, it supports the notion of curling as a winter activity, with newcomers participating for fun, but also as an expression of being Canadian. The performance text illustrates the contradiction between curling’s recognition as a truly Canadian sport and its heritage that relies on specific colonial vision for that Canadian identity.

In addition to its affiliation with Canada’s north, ice, and snow, the narrative of national identity is supported by Canada’s international success in curling. In the

modern age of sport, curling's Olympic status (Barrick et al., 2016) and Canada's success – notably at the Winter Games in Vancouver (2010) and Sochi (2014) – not only bring a national presence to the sport, but also accords curling national pride from coast to coast (Wyman, 2014). The participants recounted memories of Olympic games and Canada's success as being “proof” that curling was indeed Canada's game as well. These ideas were woven into the performance text:

***orange:** I think Canada **owns** this sport. Sure, it started in Scotland, but obviously it's a bigger deal in Canada than anywhere and it always has been.*

***beige:** I would hazard to say it might be more of a national sport than lacrosse or hockey, you know what I mean, because of our success at the highest level.*

***purple:** Curling is international. It isn't Canada's game anymore. It's just like hockey. It's time to let that go.*

***blue:** Curling is somewhere in there for Canada as a national sport. I don't know which one it is, maybe hockey is our obsession and curling's our passion? [\[136\]](#)*

The success of curling at the elite level and its increasing professionalism has pushed curling's presence and appeal as a modern sport in Canada to a level more akin to hockey (Barrick et al., 2016; Creelman, 1950). However, for many associated with the sport, including the participants in the current inquiry, this shift has also betrayed curling's roots, whereby the local club hero can no longer become a national champion, as that is reserved for the professional teams (Allain & Marshall, 2018).

Perhaps of most significance to this research, locating curling as part of Canada's national character exposes its legacy and tradition as complicit in representing a singular, dominant view of Canada's past. Associated with a Victorian, colonial legacy, curling maintains tradition and values that emanate from those historical origins, which continue in the sport today. Again, this does not amount to a total condemnation of that tradition, as polite and courteous play may be desirable traits to promote through practice. Nevertheless, it is the relevance of that legacy related to access and lack of diversity in the sport that requires examination. As such, the performance text explored those themes emphasized by participants, such as values of being polite, courteous, and honourable; these are in turn forwarded as expressions of being Canadian:

*beige: I feel like curling, the etiquette, the culture, and why everyone's **very polite**, very well-behaved, is because this is sort of a throwback to when people wore suits, basically, to go curling. It was very prim and proper.*

*beige: Being polite and courteous are just good manners. I think it teaches young people how to behave. That is why I want more kids to play. I think there are values we can pass on that are important to our society. It's like **how to be Canadian**. [124]*

This passage illuminates the general overtones of "Canadian values" and how curling expresses and upholds them in the experiences of participants. Again, the performance text demonstrates the linkage between tradition in curling and its roots from Victorian customs (Leipert et al., 2011; Mair, 2009; Pezer, 2003). It presents a tension between curling's lack of diversity, its tradition, and its supposed expression of Canada's values and national character. Hence, as Canada's demographics shift towards an increasingly

non-White population, interrogation of what it means to be Canadian is warranted, as is a new vision for how “being Canadian” is represented in curling’s tradition and cultures.

Finally, participants discussed values and beliefs related to multiculturalism as a consideration for curling and diversity. In the performance text, these were deconstructed in two ways: multiculturalism as a Canadian ideal, and multiculturalism as barrier to inclusion. Participants were asked about their views on integrating a large group of visual minorities into the club environment. The answers were adapted into the performance text to explore reactions and differences of opinion:

in(out)sider: I’m trying to imagine it. It seems like a bad, off-colour joke that you used to hear.

Twenty-five Muslims walk into a club...

But here we are. Would that really change the culture here? What would the membership do with a set of demands that are well outside the norm?

So, I ask... [132]

blue: *There are people from so many other countries coming to our city. It is so **multicultural**. If you are trying to teach them curling, you might as well be going to somewhere in Africa or South America.*

purple: *That doesn’t matter too much for me. I came here at age 2. My parents didn’t even speak English. I just wanted to do something in the wintertime. I wanted to fit in, and what better way than to play a Canadian sport, and a winter sport at that? [136]*

This passage relays an uncomfortable discussion where notions of “race,” prejudice, and attitudes towards immigrants are exposed (Plaut et al., 2011). Although Sport Canada mandates are aligned with the values of a multicultural society, implementation of policy related to “sport for all” (Sport Canada, 2012) at the local level proves challenging. The performance text shows how certain strains of multiculturalism can morph into notions of colour-blindness or racelessness, and the effect can manifest as a barrier to participation, as real, lived inequalities are forgotten in the push to be equitable for all (Plaut et al., 2018). Thus, a tension emerges between the benefits of a multicultural approach to sport (Schinke & McGannon, 2014; Tirone et al., 2010), and how that approach supports access for marginalized peoples, such as new immigrants (Kidd, 1995, 2013b; Stepick & Dutton Stepick, 2009; Tirone et al., 2010). Moreover, notions of diversity must address the impacts of colourblindness in practice, not just from a national level, but also how local clubs are affected.

5.1.5 *The Competing Interests of Diversity as Social Good and Financial Driver*

As previously described in the literature review, for CSOs, maintaining sustainable operations is part of the mandate for senior leadership (Wicker & Breuer, 2011). For many CSOs, their viability is predicated on membership, which represents a significant financial driver (Doherty et al., 2014; Weimar et al., 2015; Wicker & Breuer, 2013). As mentioned, Weimar, Wicker, and Prinz’s (2015) study on membership and CSOs indicated how membership dues are integral to the continued success and viability of the club. Moreover, managing the retention of members has become increasingly challenging: “[r]ecent research indicates that recruitment and retention of

members to sport clubs is problematic... These problems represent financial challenges for the organized sport system” (p. 418). Consequently, the shift toward embracing diversity constitutes a means to counter this decline as, identified by Spaaij’s (2018) research, clubs are attracted to “the perceived benefits of diversity primarily in terms of increased membership, attracting talent players and reputational benefits” (p. 291). Thus, calls for diversity reflect both an ethical consideration, as well as a financial consideration, especially as is related to membership. Within the performance text, these considerations were identified yet talk of remedying the situation was conflicted:

red: I still go back to: how do you get enough of it through the door?

orange: Enough of what?

*red: Let’s call it **diversity**. Our membership is fixed. Topped out. We can’t just get rid of people, so if we are going to meet some sort of imaginary target, we need a better plan. [\[185\]](#)*

In this passage, diversity is set against issues of capacity, and thus an argument is constructed that limited capacity, and not attitude, is the barrier to diversity. Thus, diversity is reduced to a “business case” or “cost benefit analysis” (Spaaij et al., 2014, p. 355), rather than a moral imperative. It moves the discussion away from an ethical or a social justice requirement to address diversity, whereby although desirable, activities to increase diversity must be aligned with the overall sustainability of the club and management of its current membership. The conflict shows that both the diversity of a club and relative level of inclusion also can be limited by the capacity of membership (Balduck et al., 2015; Doherty et al., 2014; Misener & Doherty, 2009; Swierzy et al.,

2018). Thus, a dilemma arises for curling clubs, as there is need to weigh the importance of increasing diversity against the retention and desires of its existing membership, including what sacrifices can be made when there is actual limited capacity at facilities to increase membership.

Additionally, within this narrative, participants also placed an emphasis on attracting youth as necessary for the development of the sport. On the surface, this appears as separate from the overall structure of diversity; however, as club membership ages, youth appear as another group for consideration within a strategy to increase overall diversity. In particular, the level of resources that are directed at programs to engage youth were mentioned by participants:

purple: We do have to get more youth involved in our sport.

beige: Maybe they just don't see it as cool. I mean it has an older vibe for sure. Kids these days are on their phones all the time. No time for curling.

blue: I don't even know if they want to interact like we do. Is sitting around a table and making friends a reality for them today?

facilitator: What about the idea of the curling club turning into more of a centre? In both examples so far, the idea of the club morphed into more of a social hub. [174]

This passage shows the desire to engage more youth to maintain and grow participation within the sport. However, the social nature of curling may in fact not be as attractive to youth, due to the shift towards technology for social connectedness (Stuntz & Weiss, 2010), at least according to assumptions held by participants. As one participant noted

in their interview, the way youth tend to interact via technology may be at odds with curling's belief in its social culture being beneficial to participants (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Groom et al., 2011).

Furthermore, attracting youth to the sport that has an image as an old man's game may constitute a further perceptible barrier to increasing youth participation. The performance text also explored engagement and the use of technology as a potential means that needed to be addressed:

The club was located in the old shopping plaza. It was an interesting space with windows all around, but the ice was decent. Reclaiming vacant space was a common trend, as office and retail spaces were taken over to provide what the people really needed. Recreation was a priority now, and technology was playing a role. Tournaments were seen on CommonView, and new VR simulations allowed for near-real experiences through VRSpace. Teams could even play against each other in virtual space. [\[170\]](#)

These words illustrate an alternative to the orthodox physical, social environment that curling promotes and considers its impact on potential connections with young people. In this passage, technology is seen as a beneficial aspect that might be adopted by the sport, rather than a detriment or concern related to falling youth participation (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003).

Although the overwhelming perspective from participants was that the game still represented a perfect opportunity to be social and make new friends, there were still questions about the relevance of focussing on youth participation as a way to counter an overall decline in curling participation (Berger et al., 2008; Breuer et al., 2011; Canada Fitness & Lifestyle Institute & Sport Canada, 2010). One further challenge related to the

notions of diversity and membership growth is the interpretation of what diversity implies for a club. For some clubs, diversity is found in the inclusion of aging populations and women. Hence, clubs must define what constitutes success related to an increase in diversity. For example, achieving greater diversity may constitute increasing non-White participants, or it may be achieved through an increase in the number of women participating in the club. Regardless, increasing diversity in small, local community clubs represents a challenge as they often have limited resources, or no expertise nor capacity to address issues of diversity satisfactorily (Byers, 2013; Doherty et al., 2014; Spaaij et al., 2019). Thus, a club's senior leadership is required to address any deficiency, knowledge gaps, sensitivity training, and resourcing in order to achieve greater diversity (Jenkin et al., 2017; Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019).

Thus, diversity presents a troubling and complex area for club programming. There is inconsistency in regard to how to address the growth of diversity in CSOs, as both an operational concern, and a values-based objective. Therefore, the vision and definition of diversity complicate its implementation at the club level. Of course, the complexity of diversity also requires attending discourses around "race" and its implications, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.2 Neglected and Hidden Narratives

Apart from the dominant narratives that emerged within the inquiry, the research identified other considerations related to the participants' experiences; however, these narratives were formulated via omission, not directly through conversations with

participants related to their experiences. These emerging narratives are considered counternarratives, as they run counter to the overall impressions gained through participant experiences. In lieu of the authority of dominant narratives, Harper (2009) used the notion of counternarratives as “a method of telling the stories of people who are often overlooked in the literature, and as a means by which to examine, critique, and counter majoritarian stories (or master narratives) composed about people of color” (p. 701). It offers a powerful, critical analytic tool that generates an alternative, provocative story in order to draw attention to conditions within the dominant narrative to be scrutinized. Other researchers, such as Solórzano and Yosso (2002), used counternarrative as an important research method to deepen their analysis of “race.” They noted that counternarratives are based on context, analysis, and discourse, and although they employ creative elements, are not merely fictitious:

Counter-storytelling is different from fictional storytelling. We are not developing imaginary characters that engage in fictional scenarios. Instead, the “composite” characters we develop are grounded in real-life experiences and actual empirical data and are contextualized in social situations that are also grounded in real life, not fiction. (p. 36)

Thus, counternarratives are not only drawn out based on dominant themes, such as “race” and “whiteness,” but also used in the construction of the scenarios set up to probe alternative views of colonialism offered in the third performance text, “[If I Only Had My Way...](#)”. The follow section explores the presence of counternarratives, as a neglected narrative entitled “[Curling’s Neglect of “Race” and “Whiteness”](#)”, and a

hidden narrative entitled “[Curling’s Indigenous Silence and Hidden Colonialism](#)” as part of the discussion of diversity and curling.

5.2.1 *Curling’s Neglect of “Race” and “Whiteness”*

The notions of “race” and “whiteness” emerged as both a narrative concerning curling’s lack of diversity, as well as a counternarrative related to the seemingly innocuous notion of colour-blindness. Exemplifying Hall’s (2000) criticism of multiculturalism and policies leading to a form of colour-blindness, participants in the inquiry were aware of the lack of diversity being at issue, and the low participation rates of people of colour. However, their attitudes toward opportunities for non-White participation expressed a colour-blind quality by failing to identify the possibility of barriers related to “race” in the sport (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Bimper, 2015; Goldberg, 2002). Hidden within the narrative and related to notions of colour-blindness, sport was persistently expressed as neutral, beneficial, and an inclusive environment where everyone can belong, participate, and thrive. As noted by Donnelly and Kidd (2003), “[m]ost Canadians believe that participation in sport and physical activity can bring significant individual and social benefits” (p. 25).

Of particular relevance to curling, “whiteness” holds a privileged position in Canada (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Long & Hylton, 2002), resting on a historical legacy of colonialism (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; McIntosh, 1990). As mentioned in the literature review, curling’s tradition has a deep kinship with colonial heritage and Victorian values (Creelman, 1950; Pezer, 2003); thus, examining the concept of “whiteness” is

crucial to understanding its impacts on diversity, especially “race,” which includes Indigeneity (C. King et al., 2007; Long & Hylton, 2002). In doing so, the narrative reveals a hidden assumption of colour-blindness that places “whiteness” at the dominant centre, chronically underpinning curling’s cultures.

Within the performance text, the concepts of colour-blindness were expressed in multiple ways, such as “open to everyone” and “that doesn’t happen at our club.” These statements illustrate how “race” was seemingly a non-issue and although discussed was not necessarily interrogated:

blue: Yeah? I hadn’t noticed. I really don’t see colour. Sure, curling has a bit of a reputation of being predominantly white, but... I, I think that's changing.

beige: I don’t care, everyone is welcome here. It doesn’t matter if they are white, beige, black or pink. [145]

blue: So, are you saying that colour doesn’t matter at all?

beige: Not in my books.

red: That’s a bit naïve. Of course, “race” matters. You can’t unsee it. And you ain’t seeing it here!

*blue: It’s the same as Black Lives Matter. I don’t want to see “people of colour” singled out. That’s not what curling is about. **All Lives Matter**, and everyone can play. [146]*

This passage exposed an assumption that by being welcoming, accepting, and being colour-blind, a particular Canadian value was expressed, and that valued aesthetic was presumed attractive to Others outside of the dominant culture. Bimper (2015) argued

that sport is often used as a site to promote a “post-racial” state, where opportunities are available regardless of “race.” The argument indicates that by removing “race” as a political action, inequalities due to “race” became subsumed in a narrative of providing opportunities for all in sport. This echoes national mandates as Canada’s sport policy embraces a commitment to multiculturalism (Kidd, 2013c), whereby ethnic diversity is encouraged, but does not necessarily reflect the inequality minority groups experience related to access (Donnelly & Kidd, 2003; Kidd, 2013c).

Thus, the narrative indicates an appreciation for the morality associated with increased diversity, without addressing how statements like “welcome to all” and “race doesn’t matter” might reinforce structural barriers to achieving increased diversity. The counternarrative, articulating the neglect of “race,” calls for “race” to be included in discourses between diversity and sport (Carrington, 1998, 2004, 2010; Spaaij et al., 2019, 2019). Further, the narrative expresses the privileged position White occupies, where White represents the centre and all Others the outside [156]. Thus, the invitation to participate in curling required a degree of assimilation into an established culture (Abdel-Shehid & Kalman-Lamb, 2015; Marvasti & McKinney, 2011; T. Taylor & Toohey, 1998). Conversely, the lack of diversity apparent in the club was not experienced as a desirable condition by “red:” who acknowledges that, “*it is uncomfortably ‘white’ here [143]*”, as the first line of dialogue in “*So White...*”. This statement shows the tension and uneasiness, and amounts to a call-to-action to challenge the persistent lack of diversity. Within the discussion, diversity is brought forward as something Other to be integrated into the dominant, White centre (Long &

Hylton, 2002). As such, in the view from the centre, there were no perceived issues limiting racial minorities from attending and participating in the sport or belonging to the club.

Addressing issues of “race” and diversity is further confused by the trope of “exceptions to the rule,” particularly regarding “people of colour” excelling in sports designated as White sports:

The achievements and failings of high-profile celebrity athletes such as Serena Williams, Jeremy Lin, and Tiger Woods, for example, are frequently invoked as embodied morality tales concerning the potential to overcome racial barriers. (Carrington, 2013, p. 380)

This notion was also evinced by participants who spoke (in the interviews) of others with different racial or ethnic backgrounds who played or belonged to the curling club. It was this tension between evidence of change, and the persistence of a dominant White culture surrounding curling that was presented. Here again, curling – and sport more broadly – proves to be a vital and appealing context in which to discuss challenging topics such as “race,” while implicating broader discourses for Canadian society. The use of sport to reveal inequitable conditions in society has been widely researched by scholars, such as C. L. R. James (1963), Ben Carrington (1998, 2010), and John Singer (2005a, 2005b). These scholars used sport as a microcosm to explore racism and discrimination, whereby inequities could be identified both within sport and more poignantly in society. Additionally, sport represents a space whereby emancipation through equality of access and the accomplishments achieved by racialized peoples can

be celebrated (Adair & Rowe, 2010; Carrington, 2010, 2015). Moreover, Carrington (2013) explored the unique connection of sport as an expression of society, such that “[a]s a form of physical culture, sport has a particular corporeal resonance in making visible those aspects of social life that often remain hidden and submerged in other domains” (p. 2). Thus, in examining “race” and diversity, sport and curling represent an important research context, where curling’s monotone appearance can be interrogated against its history and values, and its association with broader social constructs.

The performance text showed how notions of “race” are often discounted as only relevant in the past, not part of the present-day arrangement of Canadian society (Spaaij et al., 2018). Racial issues weren’t said to a problem in the club or sport (Bimper, 2015; Cunningham, 2009; Hughey, 2014), presenting the situation in curling as post-racial, where colour no longer mattered (Bimper, 2015; Brummett, 2017; Meghji & Saini, 2018). For the *participant actors*, there was a concerted effort to distance themselves from “racism,” perceived or actual, especially in comparison to the degree of racial injustice occurring *south of the border*. Sport provided a partial inoculation from racial tension and appeared to be a space where a benign vision of Canada’s racial tolerance and celebration of difference could be achieved. Here sport is colour-blind, fair, and equitable in opportunity for all, with barriers to access nullified and the vision of a fully inclusive, multicultural society achieved. However, in exploring “race” in the performance text, this assumption of the beneficial and neutral nature of sport was challenged:

the boy: I really loved playing basketball, at least at first. I was good. I got known around the school. There were a couple of other *ethnics* on the team, but no one Black. Where I grew up, not a lot of people that looked like me. I mean five in a high school of 1500. At least that's what it seemed to me. I was good. I made the 2nd team all-stars. I was allowed to be good. I allowed myself to be good. I watched it always. I learned all the players. Magic. Kareem. Worthy. Michael. But I wasn't like them. I didn't grow up like them.

bruthR: Ha, no my brother, you ain't from da hood.

the boy: But I stopped playing. I didn't want that "dumb nigger from the projects" feeling. [150]

This text shows how that belief in Canadian values expressed through sport culture(s) continues to mask psychological and structural barriers for non-traditional groups (Crawford et al., 1991; E. Jackson, 1988; Kalemis, 2012). The passage shows the internal negotiation of "race" and identity that was stirred up when I played basketball, a sport whose racial image is assumed to be Black. But my struggle with being Black, while identifying both as bi-racial and transracially adopted, pushed a latent self-hatred and internalized racism to the surface; maybe sport was in fact an unsafe and challenging environment.

However, the internal distress was not the only trauma that I experienced related to sport. Again, sport was the context for one of the few times I have been racially abused through a verbal assault:

the boy: It is an oppressively humid night; two teams squaring off in a men's league soccer game. We are playing the Portuguese Canadian team. No

bitter rivalry here, just a regular league game. As time winds down, however, the collegiality begins to wane:

“Fuck you! You black piece of shit!”

Interestingly enough, I had been waiting for THAT word, that pinnacle of racial taunts; the word that we all are taught to fear. And in the heat of the moment, it doesn't come. Why was it important?

nigger. niggaz. n#@\$r. nigger [152]

This passage not only shows the trauma the event caused at the time, but also the lasting psychological effects that such events have on people of colour (Carrington, 2004, 2010; Collins, 1998; Hoberman, 1997). Thus, opening up the discussion to account for “race” and the effects of racism helped to push notions of diversity beyond simply balancing visual representation towards attending to hidden trauma and internal barriers that sport itself has created.

The analysis forced self-reflection on my own blind spots and biases related to “race.” In the performance text, the following passage treats the erasing of the Other, in this case a person of Asian descent. The passage explores the discourses around “race” as subjective and biased, and expresses a need to acknowledge blind spots as diversity programs are integrated into sport systems:

in(out)sider: Holy Shit! I missed it completely. She's in a photo! A lone Asian woman! Was she White enough? Does she pass? I've erased her – not coloured enough to be included? When are you “race(ed)” enough to be considered part of the group? Her erasure happening in my Black-mind's-eye.

Woman/Asian = Disregarded, Invisible [144]

This passage illustrates how such discussions are negotiated for a person of colour, and also indicates how they are subjective and incomplete, opening up space for further discussion. In my role as inquirer, the text allowed me to explore my biases to highlight the potential prejudices and assumptions that can cloud research. Being a Black man did not absolve me of discrimination through erasure of another racialized person. Even when sport research embraces approaches such as intersectionality (Anderson & McCormack, 2010; Hancock, 2007; Walker & Melton, 2015) to consider multiple subjectivities – “race,” gender, ability, age, and sexuality – in combination, there are still potential exclusions that can arise for the researcher. The performance text illustrated my own biased relation to “race” and curling, where “race” and diversity for me was associated with colour – Black or Brown – and did not lend themselves to other possibilities of “race” or other subjectivities.

The narrative (and counternarrative) related to “race” and “whiteness” involves explicit statements about “race” while veiling notions of colourblindness. I refer to the narrative as neglected as there is some discussion of “race,” but it is incomplete. It also highlights the ambiguities of my role where “race” is present in my reality, and how “race” influences my perceptions and biases. The counternarrative also emphasizes the notion of “whiteness,” as it was not identified in conversations with participants. “Whiteness” infers a normality and privilege in relation to curling as it exists as a sport that is predominantly White, and Others (non-Whites) must assimilate into the dominant culture in order to participate in the sport. As such, “whiteness” represents the centre, and everything (and everyone) else is peripheral to that privileged position. Therefore,

Others must break into that centre in order to be recognized or be part of that culture. The privilege and centrality of “whiteness” in society also pertains to Canada’s colonial past, and what that means for people of colour and Indigenous Peoples, which is discussed in the next section.

5.2.2 *Curling’s Indigenous Silence and Hidden Colonialism*

I referred to a *hole* in the performance text as “the Indigenous question.” I meant to be patronizing, imperfect, and abstruse by not expanding on the topic. However, the phrase also represents a hidden narrative of the erasure of Indigeneity in the discourses of diversity in sport. Participants discussed the role of diversity in curling, but the exclusion of Indigeneity was not addressed in their interviews. It was also absent from the discussions concerning “race” and multiculturalism. The lack of acknowledgement pointed to how issues of Indigeneity are mostly absent from discourses of Canadian diversity in general (Grande, 2004; Paraschak, 1989), and the need for sport scholars to examine the ongoing implications within Canada’s sport systems (Cho et al., 2018; Marvasti & McKinney, 2011; Rios & Wynn, 2016). Such a *forgetful omission* [132] illustrated the troubling nature of Indigeneity in curling, related to its history based on a settler motif, “whiteness,” and the impacts of colonialism’s ongoing legacies on the sport. Further, the silence on the topic also highlighted that “whiteness” still occupies a privileged position within the sport’s culture, which is reflected in its formation, organization, and tradition (Allison, 2000; Kidd, 1996; Pezer, 2003). Thus, the erasure of Indigeneity speaks to the continuing inequality of Indigenous Peoples within the context of sport, and disturbingly, their absence from discussions of sport and diversity.

The image depicted by participants was of a sport that was fun, social, and that fostered an atmosphere where people felt welcomed in their curling club environment. The impact of Victorian values on curling has already been discussed at length (refer to [Curling's Victorian Legacy](#)). For curling, the legacy of Victorian values is codified in its rules (such as self-refereeing of games) as well as characterizing its rites and rituals, such as politeness as a construct of Victorian adherence to gentlemanliness. However, the impact of colonialism manifests beyond curling's culture, as the legacy of the colonial project still affects Indigenous populations in abject ways. As such, another counternarrative was constructed to explore how the role of Indigeneity might be taken up in the discourse of diversity (refer to "[If I Only Had My Way...](#)"). Further, the lack of existing critical analysis pointed to the intersection of "whiteness" and colonialism as important conditions that reinforce White as privileged (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; McClintock, 1992).

These complex topics were introduced within the performance text (refer to "[When the Pipes Come Marching In...](#)"), which recounted an encounter with a First Nations chief that I had on a returning flight from Winnipeg after the 2010 Olympic Curling Trials. The conversation disclosed concerns about Canada's responsibility to Indigenous communities, and how sport and opportunities to participate are affected by financial and social neglect:

in(out)sider: I'm on the flight back home. It has been quite a trip.

"You flying home? Where you from?"

I tell him. I ask him what he is doing.

“Going to the National Assembly of First Nations. I am chief of a local band.”

I tell him what I was doing in Winnipeg.

“Hmm, I don’t know many of us that curl, at least in the city. Maybe a few up closer to [a northern community].”

I ask him why not? He shrugs,

“The biggest problem is getting into facilities. We can’t raise taxes to build anything. So how do you get a new rink? Well, that’s why I’m heading to Ottawa.”

I didn’t know.

“You want us to curl? Let us build our own facilities. Simple, then maybe we will curl.” [135]

The conversation offers an introduction but requires deeper critique of the issues and challenges Indigenous Peoples face as regards to participating in sport. For example, Paraschak (1997) examined how sport was complicit in the ongoing discrimination against Indigenous Peoples as well as sport’s collusion in reinforcing a repressive, dominant culture that affected Indigenous communities. Further, the role of Canada’s sport policy around dealing with inequalities for Indigenous communities not only needs to be scrutinized in relation to providing funding for facilities, but also critiqued as to the subtle reinforcement of the ways sport is organized and administered, which reinscribe colonial constructs (Henhawk, 2009; Paraschak, 1989, 1995a, 2015).

The performance text highlighted tensions around Canada’s financial obligations to Indigenous communities, including funding for recreation and sport. Although the

Canadian government has made some strides in the process of Reconciliation, more work is required, including capital investment in Indigenous communities related to sport (Henhawk, 2009; Ministry of Indigenous and Northern Affairs Canada, 2019a). Even with the presence of agencies and policies, such as the Aboriginal Sports Circle and Sport Canada's Policy on Aboriginal Peoples' Participation in Sport (Canadian Heritage, 2015, 2019), a wide range of factors continue to limit sport opportunities for Indigenous Peoples (Henhawk, 2009, 2018; Paraschak, 1995a, 2015).

The hidden narrative of Indigenous invisibility implicated the notion of decolonization, where Indigenous ways-of-being were juxtaposed against the history and legacy of curling. The notions of *change* and *progress* [171] in curling reflected how the participants felt about diversity and current cultural conditions. Phrases such as “things are better now than...” or “I can't see that happening here in Ontario” identified a certain optimism about the present, but also a hope for a new, more diverse future:

beige: I can see it. It wouldn't take much. I feel that we are making positive strides toward that. I mean the government has acknowledged stuff, Reconciliation etc. It's at least moving somewhere.

purple: It is difficult for sure, I'm not sure there is a good answer, but we are making strides towards that. I just went to see a talk at the university, and the speaker made a land acknowledgment.

orange: Yeah, my kids' school does that every morning on the announcements. I think it's good for the awareness of what happened. [182]

This passage centres on the discussion of Reconciliation and the strides that *people* are making. One serious risk, however, is that the action and activism around

Reconciliation stop at awareness as an end, rather than a point-of-departure. Further, the practice of acknowledgement remains suspect, as Grande (2004) wrote that the act of recognizing (in this case Indigenous rights) is performed from the dominant centre, where the power and authority to do the recognizing is maintained (p.5). This argument also implicates the notion of “whiteness” and the privilege of the dominant centre. Again, the dominant centre has the privilege; in this case, it is if and when the rights of Indigenous Peoples will be attended to by the greater authority, which has power and dominion over the Others. Thus, the performance text conveys a hope in the role of awareness leading to Reconciliation, but hides the weight of colonialism still at work in the sport, which acts to limit representation of or address inequity for Indigenous Peoples (Buck, 2012; C. King et al., 2007). Further, the privilege of “whiteness” complicit in the erasure of Indigeneity means the impact is doubly felt from the legacies of colonialism and “whiteness” as expressed in Canada’s unexamined dominant cultural forms.

The performance text also opens up to a consideration of Canada’s colonial project as actively ongoing, influencing social and cultural forms. In the scene “[*If I Only Had My Way....*](#),” three scenarios explored how forms of colonialism might manifest in Canada and the extent to which Canada embraces decolonization: “[*The Return to a New Nationalism*](#)”, “[*A Tale of a New Centre*](#)”, and “[*Toward a New EthnoPresence*](#).” Each suggested a different outcome for Reconciliation in Canada, from complete denial of Indigenous sovereignty and land claims, to full recognitions, self-governance, and

compensation. The first scenario imagines what a rejection of Reconciliation might involve where all the rights of Indigenous Peoples are denied:

Just before the gates, Eddie noticed a group of people sitting by a fire, circled around a drum. He heard the “thump, thump” and the melodic chant coming from the circle. Their protest had been ongoing for three years now. The barricades were down now, as the police forced the group to settle in the gully beside the road. The thought of “Reconciliation” was long past; this group struggled not to be forgotten. The “club” acquired the land, gifted by the new government in “gratitude” for ongoing support and generous contributions to their campaign. Sacred lands were remembered but access only imagined. [163]

This passage imagines the complete refusal of decolonization not only as a denial of the Reconciliation process, but also as a reversal of land claims where traditionally held lands were gifted to friends of the ruling elite. In the second scenario, the situation gestures towards greater inclusivity and social justice, but Indigeneity is not referenced specifically. This silence helps represent a situation where the current climate has been taken a step further:

In the city, communities engaged with political, social justice, where access and equity were king. Corporate interests were balanced with new social interests, while alternative modes of employment and work, putting citizens at the forefront and reshaping land use. [169]

Finally, the third scenario presents a situation where Reconciliation and a fully realized vision of multiculturalism is manifest in Canada:

“Canada Realizes Reconciliation in Full.” The headline didn’t do justice to the amazing turn of events. The New TRC party swept into power with a mandate that seemed impossible to achieve. [178]

The performance text prompts a discussion, but also points to the need to have the narrative relate to Indigeneity at present, as the issue was not discussed at all by

participants. Further, the role of the “club” is prominently featured as the setting in all three scenario treatments depicting possible states of social and political decolonization.

As enacted by the performance text, the hidden narrative provides a counternarrative to narratives about curling’s legacy (refer to [Curling’s Victorian Legacy](#)). Through the counternarrative, curling’s association with Canada’s colonial past can be critiqued and investigated as to where tradition might meaningfully be challenged. There is considerable territory to review, from Victorian ideals of values and behaviour, to the legacy of settler colonialism, to British origins. In fact, the performance text traverses these areas in order to illustrate their intersections and sites of tension. However, apart from the text in the scenarios themselves, the issue of how curling’s legacy might silence or make it impossible to recognize the ongoing struggles of Indigenous Peoples and colonialism is otherwise absent from participant discussion. In fact, the narrative invites a question regarding the appropriateness of the discussion:

red: Why are we the ones talking about this? I just have to ask: are we in the best position to answer that question? [168]

Again, the centre or privileged position within the dominant culture (and curling club culture) is the location of the discussion, and the above text points to one current discourse whereby some are rightly asking whether the voices driving the conversation should belong exclusively to the privileged, White centre, and not include Indigenous Peoples themselves. The text thereby identifies a placeholder for further discussion that implicates the discourses of “whiteness” and decolonization (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Mignolo, 1993). As such, the notion of dominance (expressed through the participants

in the narrative) can be troubled while examining conditions of colonialism that persist today, and lead to inequity, especially (and in unique ways) for Indigenous Peoples.

However, the impacts of colonialism are not limited to Indigenous Peoples, and the impacts of Canadian colonialism on “people of colour” has not received sufficient attention by sport scholars. Although Bonds and Inwood (2016) called for examination of the relationship between “white supremacy” and “race” within settler colonial nations as a “process that continues to create common sense understandings of race within settler societies” (p. 722), the context of sport has not been used to analyze that particular relationship. The performance text allowed exploration of the notion of “race” through the eyes of a person of colour, as well as, a look at “race” within a context of colonialism and sport. The scenarios enlisted Reconciliation as a central construct for the stories. There was also mention of “race” related to immigrants new to Canada, and of how colonialization also damaged all people of colour through a system of repression reliant on “whiteness.” However, the legacy of Black people in Canada has largely and unjustly been associated with complicity with the colonial project, rather than with subjugation within its structures (Day, 2000; Fleras, 2014; Henry, 2000; Mensah, 2002). Thus, the complexity of the issue of colonialism in Canadian sport requires further study. The current work submits counternarrative as a vital method to explore different and conflicting perspectives and possibilities.

The narratives discussed in this section surfaced persistent themes – identified and not identified – though the experiences of curlers. The interviews opened discussions regarding diversity that highlighted existing patterns of behaviour

illustrative of the cultures within curling clubs. The performance text in turn revealed counternarratives that are demanded within a critical analysis of curling in order to better understand the way “race,” “whiteness,” and colonialism operate on diversity. Throughout the process, I reflected on my own position as inquirer and on my background regarding “race,” bringing a vigilance and curiosity to how that informed this inquiry. The performance text invited discussion of complex discourses to examine gaps and tensions that require more attention. The entire project sought to deepen understanding of dominant narratives that, when carefully and courageously examined, reveal valuable insights to consider in shaping the future of sport and diversity.

6.0 Conclusions

There is no English history without that other history. The notion that identity has to do with people that look the same, feel the same, call themselves the same, is nonsense. As a process, as a narrative, as a discourse, it is always told from the position of the Other.

– Hall, 2000, p. 147

The focus of this inquiry centred on the narratives that are maintained within sport related to diversity (Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019). The narratives became known through the process of analysis and representation of participants' experiences, where their knowledge and insights revealed the stories that are told within the cultures of curling. Throughout the inquiry, I acknowledged that my role was implicated in the process of gathering, analyzing, and representing the narratives. My involvement was not only that of inquirer, but also as contributor. As such, I offer my story of how I was introduced to curling as a Black man with no previous links to the sport. The story goes something like this:

I came to know curling through a friend but in an uncommon way: I agreed to participate in a *celebrity bonspiel* – a pro-am event, where professional players are matched with amateur players. I was green and naïve. So much so that I mistook *draws* for the selection of teams (draws actually refer to the schedule of play). I remember taking my first tentative steps onto the ice, and my world was irrevocably changed. But it was the afterward, post-game that solidified my fascination with the sport. Sitting amongst curling's royalty, I couldn't help but be struck by how down-to-earth all the players were. It seemed that there was no hierarchy, just regular people sharing a drink. Yet, the experience was also disquieting. Here I was, the only Black man on the ice or in the club house. Again, I was forced to accept my Otherness while playing a sport that was predominantly White.

So, what was I to make of my experience in this social, fun sport that also reaffirmed the tensions and challenges that “race” poses for my participation? My interest in curling was piqued as it forced a reconciliation of my enjoyment, my biography as a Black man, and deeper concerns that are implicated in the sport. This chapter explores the main contributions of the inquiry, in regard to theory, methodology, representation, and practice. Further, I provide consideration for the significance of the research for the academic world, as well as for those outside of academia. Ultimately, I provide some considerations for further inquiry.

6.1 Seeing Curling’s Narratives Through New Eyes

To begin, there is relatively little scholarship written on curling in sport studies. It remains a unique sport representing a *Canadianness* (Barrick et al., 2016; Mair, 2007) that connects curling to other national sports, such as hockey and lacrosse. Sport scholars have researched these more extensively, particularly hockey (Adams & Leavitt, 2018; Kidd, 2013b; Nixon, 1976; Paraschak, 2015). Yet, curling represents a rich terrain for examination of club-based cultures, and their impact on community members who participate. This inquiry provides a contribution to the scholarship concerning curling, and how diversity can be examined from the point-of-view of the centre, or dominant culture. As curling’s image and current membership is predominantly White, male, English-speaking and heterosexual (Curling Canada et al., 2015; Pezer, 2003), it represents a prevailing assertion of Canadian society. Often, scholars researching issues of diversity investigate the conditions of inequity from the point-of-view of those

peoples that are marginalized. This inquiry flips that investigation to focus on what hidden barriers might be present inside the cultures of curling clubs, as revealed from the experiences of those already involved in the sport.

In Canada, the notion of “whiteness” is associated with a dominant culture, and the privilege that it holds in our society (Bonds & Inwood, 2016). The inquiry examined the role of “whiteness” as present in the cultures of curling clubs, where there continues to be strong connection to its past. Through interrogating the role of White privilege (Bonds & Inwood, 2016), we can begin to unravel the complexity of dominance, and how that centre exerts influence to the detriment of achieving a more diverse population (Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019). Further, it is from this centre location (of privilege and power) that Others are invited into the sport, and as such, deciphering the factors that continue to limit opportunities for people of colour, Indigenous Peoples, and those people marginalized in sport are important in combatting potential inequalities. Within the discussion, the role of tradition in curling was identified as an integral component of club cultures, and thus deserved attention as to what impacts it had in relation to diversity.

One contribution of the inquiry relates to the association of tradition and symbols, with the culture(s) in the curling club (Birrell, 1989; Mills & Hoerber, 2013). As was noted in the discussion, tradition supports a value structure in curling that is based on Victorian values still practiced in the sport today, such as polite, courteous play, and self-refereeing (Pezer, 2003). These all link to a historical view of sport as being gentlemanly, orderly, and respectful (Pezer, 2003), values considered benign and

positive by participants. However, those values also point to an connection with settler colonialism in Canada (Bonds & Inwood, 2016), and thus a conflict can be found related to diversity. The spread of curling within these “settler communities” – small towns in Canada’s Prairies – is touted as crucial in the historical development of the sport (Pezer, 2003; Wieting & Lamoureux, 2001), yet it also represents the silencing and erasure of the oppression experienced by Indigenous Peoples as a result of that colonial expansion (Grande, 2004; Paraschak, 1996).

Thus, curling’s legacy association with settler colonialism requires further examination as to how the history, legacy, and ongoing culture impacts projects designed to increase diversity in the sport (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Spaaij et al., 2018). The inquiry introduced and examined how the sport may respond to notions of Reconciliation and decolonization, and what possible outcomes might be experienced. Further, Canada’s valuing of multiculturalism, despite expressing a beneficial tolerance of difference, may also lead to colourblindness, as notions of “race” and racial inequality are subsumed in the quest for equity for all that has fallen short in in Canada (Bimper, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Carrington, 2007). The inquiry used narratives as a vehicle to explore some of these complex relationships between concepts such as “whiteness, “race,” and colonialism. Through the analysis, the dominant narratives that were found expressed multiple perspectives related to these theoretical areas. The narratives reinforced cultural forms and actions and as such were valuable to identify barriers, tensions, and challenges.

6.2 Exploration Using Counternarratives

As mentioned in the previous section, identifying the dominant narratives in curling facilitated a discussion of the impacts that are perceived by their persistence. The neglect of certain topical areas, such as “race” or “whiteness,” exposes a gap related to diversity that required interrogation. As such, counternarratives were used as they offered a means to look at these topics, and their intersections (Baker-Lewton et al., 2017; Harper, 2009). By using counternarratives, the notion of “race” could be introduced as a counter to the main narrative of dominant “whiteness.” Hence, the intersection of “race” and diversity was opened up to explore different perspectives that were not realized directly from the participants. Further, it introduced a self-reflexive accounting of my “race” and biography, and what implications it might have for the inquiry.

When it came to discussions of diversity, there were oppositional views, where some participants stated how welcoming and open curling was for all people and conversely how others noted that, although curling might appear open to all, diversity was still an issue. I was struck by how engaged participants were and excited about speaking to issues related to curling. It can be uncomfortable to speak about “race” and diversity, but those who chose to contribute took on the task with blunt and striking frankness. Describing a Canadian sport as White immediately creates tensions in the exploration of diversity, as it seems at odds with a national character of tolerance of new Canadians and appreciation for a multicultural society (Burdsey, 2008; Day, 2000). Yet, I was surprised and encouraged by the candour and self-awareness participants

exhibited, recognizing many of the challenges facing the sport, including its history, legacy, and position in the Canadian sport landscape.

When I began this inquiry, I tried at first to distance myself from notions of “race” and my blackness. This action served as a defense on two fronts: (1) I no longer would be required to define my identification with “race”, and (2), I believed I could move beyond “race” as a classification for myself both as a racialized individual and as a scholar. As such, I relied on a *more* poststructural approach to research, whereby I might distance myself from the matter of “race,” and present an *objective* yet subjective treatment of the content. However, in fact, I was unable to achieve any distance from notions of “race,” identity, and “whiteness.” In actuality, for me to proceed with the analysis, I needed to recognize and more importantly reconcile my identification with “race” and moreover, find a way to be at peace with my multiple identities. Resolving my issues with “race” in context of curling seemed like a strange place to begin the process of my understanding and ultimate my healing.

However, the exploration of the curling narratives offered insights into how the dominant centre needs to critically examine legacies of tradition to gain an awareness in order to counter historical inequities. Perhaps, in the process, curling may reconcile its history and move towards the more socially just vision for diversity in the sport. The complexity of the inquiry required me to embrace an approach which engrained “thinking with theory” (A. Jackson, 2012) as a means to unpack the messiness of the content. It offered a means to entertain multiple, subjective points-of-view, while committed to a deeper, critical exploration of the role of dominance within sport.

The outcome also pointed to a need for a creative approach to present the findings. Through performance text, the notions of “race” and “whiteness” could be continually troubled. It allowed for my role as inquirer to also express my struggles being categorized as Black, and the implications that classification has had on my life. Again, I am unable to escape “race.” It was *thrust* onto me from an early age [145]. Yet, my identity continually reflects my ongoing re-evaluation of “race,” what it means, and how it affects my lived experience [155]. There is nothing straightforward about using the intricacy of “race” as a frame to investigate diversity. I explored how creative practices, such as performance text as a method of analysis, could offer a valuable vehicle to manage the many issues relevant to the discussion, and to illustrate the messiness.

Further, the use of the counternarrative allowed interconnections between “race,” and diversity in the context of sport to be illustrated, such as recognizing that marginalized people do not have a neutral or equal starting point when it comes to opportunities to access sport (Beamish, 1990; Kidd, 1995). Therefore, solutions must address these inequities prior to implementing universal mandates designed as equal access for all (Collins, 1998; Cunningham, 2009; Spaaij et al., 2018, 2019). Further, using a counternarrative was useful to explore those topics that were not discussed by participants, such how a commitment to multiculturalism and colourblind national policies lead to erasing “race” from our discourses about sport, diversity, and inclusion (Adair & Rowe, 2010; T. Brown et al., 2003; Hylton, 2005; King et al., 2007) [145]. The narratives provided a space to challenge this aspect, where the privilege of

“whiteness” is also implicated not only in broader Canadian society, but also within sport (C. King et al., 2007; Long & Hylton, 2002) [143].

Moreover, the omission of Indigeneity within the discourses of sport and diversity required attention, as well as the challenge of intersecting notions of “race” and Indigeneity together in the research of sport culture(s) and diversity. Although a brief discussion of Indigeneity and sport was provided in the literature review, I am not positioning myself as expert. However, I do believe that it is vital for scholarship to move beyond a reliance on Indigenous thinkers to discuss and find solutions to this complicated subject area in Canada. The impacts of colonialism continue to affect our society today. I referred to the fatigue felt by people of colour as they are persistently required to defend and call for action to address racism, discrimination, and inequity. Indigenous scholars surely experience a similar fatigue as they attend to the inequities, silencing, and dismissal of Indigeneity in discourses about sport and culture in Canada. My attempt was to articulate the need to explore Indigenous issues related to curling and diversity, and to align this inquiry with a demand for social justice for all marginalized groups in Canadian society.

This inquiry offers a contribution to the discourses by examining the relationship between “race” and colonialism (Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Boucher et al., 2009; López, 2005b) and the effects of “whiteness” in dominant cultural forms in curling, as expressed through the continuing narrative of Canadian colonial legacy at the expense of any other version of history (López, 2005b; Mignolo, 2002, 2011a). For curling, exploring its histories and heritage is a vital component of critical analysis and opens up

possibilities for research (Bannerji, 2000; Besnier & Brownell, 2012; K. Fox, 2006; Mignolo, 2005; Spivak, 1988). Further, sport scholars need to consider how narratives about Canada's heritage perpetuate detrimental mythologies, such as settler histories and colour-blind multiculturalism (Apfelbaum et al., 2012; Bonds & Inwood, 2016; Carrington, 2010) and how those stories affect diversity, and the neglect of Indigenous cultures, ways-of-being, and self-determination (Paraschak, 1995b; Paraschak & Morgan, 1997; Paraschak & Thompson, 2014).

6.3 Writing as Analysis

One methodological contribution from the inquiry is the benefit of writing as a method for analysis. Richardson (1990) wrote “language does not ‘reflect’ social reality but rather produces meaning and creates social reality” (p. 961). The importance of language cannot be understated, and as I wrote the performance text, a powerful connection between experiences and meanings became apparent. Throughout the data collection process, words and phrases were used that indicated a space where more scrutiny would be a benefit as they were often loaded with cultural references to be deconstructed. For the performance text, some of these words were highlighted – *[city]*, *[club]*, *[heritage]*, *[“blue collar”]*, *[“gentleman’s sport”]* – as they indicated a gravity and loaded-ness that needed to be called out. Yet, the taken-for-granted assumptions with aspects of tradition and its cultural forms was evident from the analysis. The participants often reflected on tradition, and while some meanings seemed to be

commonly held, there were different points-of-view as to what the implications of those meanings were for the sport.

I found that my writing offered a path to better understand what participants were saying, and I was able to examine my reaction, emotions, and behaviours that surfaced in relation to each interview. For Richardson (1990), “knowing the self and knowing about the subject are intertwined, partial, historical local knowledges” (p. 962). In this context, curling offered a common space for understanding. Further, the analytic process and final representation through performance text also invited the reader into the analysis, where they could form their own opinions and interpretations of what was valuable for them in the inquiry. Barthes (1987) wrote about readers’ active involvement in the process of interpretation, which must be considered as supplanting or reducing the influence of the author. As such, the reader reinscribes meanings and truths through their active role. It is the action and involvement of the reader that becomes so vital to the process, whereby:

The reader, by deconstructing the writer’s presence, signature, and voice, which are included in the text, disembodies the text from the author but not to leave the text void. This disembodiment is concurrently replaced by the embodiment of the reader within the text, thereby creating the text anew. (Mantzoukas, 2004, p. 1001).

I constructed the performance text to address this active role of the reader. My hope for this inquiry was that there would be an audience beyond academia, which would benefit from the narratives depicted in the text. I hoped that the result could engage a

multiplicity of interpretation, and lead to new courses of action to increase diversity in curling. The performance text explored the content without leaving prescriptive pathways or solutions. The text engages the reader and leaves *space* for new possibilities and emergence for future investigations. I imagined a *space*, or rather, through writing creatively, a space that could be *opened*, where interpretations could lead elsewhere. Such openness was designed to allow for critique, as each reading demonstrated an opportunity for alternatives to be explored, entertained, and perhaps discarded. Together, participants, writer, and reader might construct new perspectives on the role of diversity in sport, and fashion new ways of knowing and understanding.

6.4 Performance Text as Creative Analytic Practice

As mentioned, a challenge for this inquiry was how best to represent the findings of the analysis. In the Methodology chapter, the theoretical underpinnings of poststructuralism and narrative inquiry were discussed in order to open towards new and more creative approaches for representation of such challenging subject matter. Performance text offered a flexible, creative style, whereby the text and writing became analysis, and thinking was done through the expression of the text itself (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005). Performance text, as a form of creative analytic practice (CAP) (Berbary, 2011; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005), troubled reification often tied to thematic categorization, as the role of expert becomes inscribed in the findings. The performance text countered this by inviting new insights and interpretations from the reader.

Further, performance text offered a method to explore multiple conceptual areas, such as “race,” “whiteness,” and colonialism, all within the context of curling and diversity, all within one form of representation. The performance text allowed the dialogue between *participant actors* to illustrate tensions that emanated from the participant interviews and represented multiple perspectives on a particular topic. Further, the creative format permitted a deep exploration of themes as the writing allowed for insights to be written into the *participant actors* to respond to and seed further discussion. Performance text also provided a medium to implicate my own biography relevant to issues of diversity and inclusion, particularly in regard to “race,” with a freedom to illustrate the multilayered analysis, with self-reflexive interpretations of identity, not separated to remove my role as researcher from the process.

The process of writing and presentation in the performance text allowed for my insights concerning “race,” othering, and disenfranchisement to be imagined while conducting interviews with participants in a predominantly White space (Arai, 2006; K. Armstrong, 2011; Carrington, 2007). I was able to identify tensions related to identity and my belonging, which were brought to the surface and contrasted with the congenial feelings of welcome offered by participants and the club environment. The text illustrated the conflict and tensions that I felt as a person of colour operating in a White, dominant culture, where my experience of living as a Black man entered into the conversation, both as an immediate consideration as well as the historical weight of my lived experience as a Black man in Canada. That experience can never be isolated nor removed (Fanon, 1952), and as such, informs my very being.

The impact of “race” in and of itself is complex, however, it is further compounded by my bi-racial identification and transracial adoptive background. My story about painting my bike white illustrated the degradation often held by transracial adoptees negotiating their identification with “race” (Baden et al., 2012; Briggs, 2012; Butler-Sweet, 2011a, 2011b). Thus, the performance text allowed my background to be expressed alongside the *participant actors* to contrast the view from the centre and the possibility of how that discussion might be challenging for someone pushed to the margins.

One possible limitation for this inquiry was the selection of participants from only two clubs. However, when analyzed, the stories gathered from a multitude of participant experiences revealed a similarity of key narratives, common across all participants. As such, the value of introducing additional clubs would not guarantee any additional contributions to the narratives. Further, the notion of multiplicity as it is taken up in poststructuralism highlights that the perspectives of those involved in the study all contribute to the formation of the whole. Thus, each participant’s experiences provided a facet of the complete structure, in this case the cultures in the club. The narratives related to those cultures became known as a collection and amalgamation of the experiences of all participants. The inquiry was not comparative; rather, it was cumulative, whereby each story or participant experience brought further clarity to the overall depiction of the narrative.

6.5 Scenarios as Construct to Explore Alternative Perspectives

Along with the performance text, the development of scenarios offered a complimentary approach to explore sport and diversity by imagining future conditions and their impacts on sport and society. Scenarios are often used within strategic planning to help organizations mitigate risk and remain viable within dramatic, uncertain conditions (Ainslie, 2007; Börjeson et al., 2006; Chermack, 2004, 2005; Wilson, 2000). The scenarios designed for the inquiry illustrated a set of possible futures to challenge the reader's imagination, and depict multiple possible states in the future (Baldwin, 1979; Cuhls, 2003; Schwartz, 1996). The scenarios were meant to be provocative and written in such a way as to draw out issues referenced by participants in their interviews and rewritten into conditions, situations, and possibilities relevant to the discourses of curling clubs, Reconciliation, and impacts on diversity. The experiences of the participants formed the basis for the narratives which were then projected into the future.

The combination of scenario development and performance text offered a unique approach to explore possible directions curling might take to remedy issues related to diversity in the sport. In the performance text, "[If I Only Had My Way...](#)," the scene imagined how a future thinking workshop might operate and what responses might be offered from the participants. The scenario format allowed exploration of the notions of Reconciliation and decolonialization, as a counternarrative challenging the omission of Indigeneity from the discussion of diversity. I used the *participant actors* to formulate possible points-of-view and provide discussion around the future states aligned with the

perspectives that were established in previous passages. The result grounded future considerations within the messiness of “race,” colonialism, and silencing of Indigeneity in Canada, and what changes are required to address that omission in curling. Thus, the use of scenarios in combination with performance text offers a powerful medium to expand analytic practices by engaging counternarratives, probing future considerations and possibilities using scenarios, all leading to opening new insights to further the discourses of sport and diversity.

6.6 Implications for Practice and Future Inquiry

I began this inquiry with the purpose of better understanding notions of diversity and curling club culture(s) through the experience of participants. Yet, the process resulted in the emergence of other considerations that required examination to understand the issues surrounding diversity within curling. There seemed a simplicity to solving the issue of how to get more diversity into curling, yet the application in the club environment was challenging. Curling offered a context rich with legacy to its tradition, continuity of rites and rituals linked to a Victorian past, and desire to change its image of “whiteness” toward a diversity resembling Canada’s cultural mosaic. The curling club represented a valuable expression of a CSO, where the pressures and tensions could be explored as a site that is under pressure to change. Finally, curling as Canada’s other national sport presented a fascinating manifestation of a cultural form that embodies Canadian values, both past and present.

The inquiry was designed to explore and present ideas, tensions, and challenges to provoke conversations and interpretations by the reader. I wanted to ensure that in reading the performance text, there was an accessible form that illustrated the relevant issues but did so in such a manner that the reader becomes involved in the inquiry, as an active, insightful member of the project. The narrative form allowed for an iterative, interpretative process whereby the reader could develop and revisit their insights over and over again. The combination of scenarios within performance text showed a valuable approach to present possible areas for discussion that could not be fully explored within a traditional research study. The result offered a look into curling's dominant narratives and the impacts those narratives have on holding tradition and cultures in place.

Further, research into diversity surely benefits from using the construct of “whiteness” to examine privilege in dominant culture, national identity, and what impacts that may have on opportunities for access in sport. Curling has a unique connection to Canadian heritage that requires additional critique regarding the role of settler colonialism and Indigeneity where sport researchers can examine the impact of that legacy on Canadian sport. This also opens up possible avenues for research regarding strategic implications. Finally, the role of the curling club in this inquiry identified the beneficial aspects of the club as it builds social connections and can serve as another type of space; thus further research into the role of CSOs continues to offer an important entry point for sports research. It also requires critical examination within frames of “race,” “whiteness,” and settler colonialism to better contextualize the unique

situation in Canada, where the values of multiculturalism offer hope for equality, yet still suffers from the colourblindness implied. The performance text sets a stage where others may be able to further dialogues into the topics covered in the inquiry to inform practices, national policy, and local implementations.

One gap identified in the inquiry relates to the assumed complicity of people of colour in colonialization of Canada. As Canada grapples with its road to Reconciliation and attempts to decolonize our society, the role of people of colour within the colonial project demands attention, as does the associated question of how that may be experienced with the context of sport. I believe that creative analytic practice, including performance text, offers an approach to examine greater complexity in sports research. Performance text combines an approach to analytics and creative freedom to trouble the rigidity of traditional scientific research, and the possibilities of expanding perspective through counternarrative is a useful technique to challenge our dominant narrative tied to our cultures.

For me, this inquiry was challenging. I struggled with issues of my racial identity and my place as a Black man in this world and as a scholar. As a person of colour, I inherently assume that notions of “race” are self-evident and disenfranchisement, discrimination, and inequality are givens in our society. However, this inquiry allowed for the multifaceted intersection of conceptual areas to be explored in curling, and its cultures. Considering notions of diversity, “race,” and colonialism within a frame of dominance, “whiteness,” and Canadian heritage offers valuable insight for sport research, deepening the discussion through intersection and interconnections. My desire

was to contribute to the scholarship in sports studies, using curling as a context to better understand our complicity with Canadian heritage, and what its implications are for sport. My hope was to open up our discussion of diversity and move towards a more socially just society for all Canadians.

7.0 References

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8.0 Appendices

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Letter



Date:

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS
Exploring Curling Culture Through Stories
University of Waterloo

My name is Richard Norman and I am a PhD student at the University of Waterloo, in the Recreation and Leisure Program under the supervision of Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair. I am writing to you as someone who is involved with your local curling club. I would like to invite you to participate in a study about curling club culture and the experiences of people who curl. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

The purpose of the study is to better understand peoples' experiences of curling club culture. Curling offers a unique environment that invites people to connect and socialize through the power of play and sport. As Canadian society becomes more diverse, curling clubs are responding with new programs and initiatives to serve their communities and widen their membership base. The study will help us understand how club culture may influence sport participation for all curlers as well as newcomers entering the sport. The intent of this study is not to evaluate or critically appraise your club, activities, or members. Rather, the intent of the research is to gather new insights to benefit the sport of curling as it faces contemporary challenges.

The study involves two different forms of data collection. First, I am planning to spend time around the club to observe events and interact informally with members. I am interested in observing curling specific activities, such as your league play and bonspiels. I would also like to be present for some social activities. These may be being present before and after competitions or at other social gatherings. I would also like to chat to members informally to ask questions about the activities that I am observing. Questions will centre on the activity and how that activity is valued in the club. I hope to better understand the activities and how club members interact to give me a better sense of aspects of curling culture within the club.

Second, I am also inviting approx. 15 club members to participate in one-on-one interviews about your experiences at the curling club. If you choose to be involved, you will be asked to select two or three photographs that represent your connection or experience in curling for the interviews. The photos serve as discussion points for the interview. The photos will only be included in the study with your consent. Each interview will last approx. 45 minutes and will help me to understand personal motivations and insights about curling's importance in your life. The interview will take place at a time and place that is convenient for you. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. In appreciation of your time, interview participants will receive a \$10 gift card for Tim Horton's. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes. There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You can end the conversations or interviews at any time and you may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer. Any information

concerning your identity will be confidential. All information that could identify you will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. Alternatively, you may choose to allow your photos to be used to illustrate study findings in papers and presentations resulting from this research. In these, your name will not be used but your face may be seen. This means that your participation would no longer be confidential. Anonymous quotations and the use of photos will only be used with your consent. If other people are involved in the photos, their consent will also be required. ORE advises against using photos with other people visible, as it may not always be possible/practical to gain their consent. If photos do contain others, they should be cropped out and/or have identifying features blurred. You can withdraw your consent to participate and have your data destroyed by contacting me up until data analysis begins in February 2019. Data will be stored for a minimum of 7 years in an encrypted folder on my password-protected computer. Only authorized researchers, including my supervisors and myself, will have access to study data. All records are destroyed according to University of Waterloo Policy. I am happy to share some preliminary findings at an appropriate point during the study, as well as a copy of the final dissertation for your records.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40001). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please email me at r2norman@uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (416) 993-3017. I hope you will agree to be part of this project. In the meantime, if you have any questions about participation in this study, I would be pleased to answer any questions you might have and can provide you with additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation. Additionally, please feel free to contact my supervisors (Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair) with any questions or concerns. Their contact information is provided below.

I hope that the findings generated together through this process will be of benefit to those organizations directly involved in the study, as well as to the broader curling community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your involvement in this project.

Sincerely,



Richard Norman, Ph.D (c)
Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
T: (416) 993-3017
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Katie E. Misener, PhD
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Appendix B: Consent Letter for Participants



Date:

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

Exploring Curling Culture Through Stories
University of Waterloo

My name is Richard Norman and I am a PhD student at the University of Waterloo, in the Recreation and Leisure Program under the supervision of Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair. I am writing to you as someone who is involved with your local curling club. I would like to invite you to participate in a study about curling club culture and the experiences of people who curl. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

The purpose of the study is to better understand peoples' experiences of curling club culture. Curling offers a unique environment that invites people to connect and socialize through the power of play and sport. As Canadian society becomes more diverse, curling clubs are responding with new programs and initiatives to serve their communities and widen their membership base. The study will help us understand how club culture may influence sport participation for all curlers as well as newcomers entering the sport. The intent of this study is not to evaluate or critically appraise your club, activities, or members. Rather, the intent of the research is to gather new insights to benefit the sport of curling as it faces contemporary challenges.

The study involves two different forms of data collection. First, I am planning to spend time around the club to observe events and interact informally with members. I am interested in observing curling specific activities, such as your league play and bonspiels. I would also like to be present for some social activities. These may be being present before and after competitions or at other social gatherings. I would also like to chat to members informally to ask questions about the activities that I am observing. Questions will centre on the activity and how that activity is valued in the club. I hope to better understand the activities and how club members interact to give me a better sense of aspects of curling culture within the club. Second, I am also inviting approx. 15 club members to participate in one-on-one interviews about your experiences at the curling club. If you choose to be involved, you will be asked to select two or three photographs that represent your connection or experience in curling for the interviews. The photos serve as discussion points for the interview. The photos will only be included in the study with your consent. Each interview will last approx. 45 minutes and will help me to understand personal motivations and insights about curling's importance in your life. The interview will take place at a time and place that is convenient for you. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. In appreciation of your time, interview participants will receive a \$10 gift card for Tim Horton's. The amount received is taxable. It is your responsibility to report this amount for income tax purposes. There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You can end the conversations or interviews at any time and you may decline to answer any question(s) you prefer not to answer. Any information

concerning your identity will be confidential. All information that could identify you will be removed from the data that is collected and stored separately. Alternatively, you may choose to allow your photos to be used to illustrate study findings in papers and presentations resulting from this research. In these, your name will not be used but your face may be seen. This means that your participation would no longer be confidential. Anonymous quotations and the use of photos will only be used with your consent. If other people are involved in the photos, their consent will also be required. ORE advises against using photos with other people visible, as it may not always be possible/practical to gain their consent. If photos do contain others, they should be cropped out and/or have identifying features blurred. You can withdraw your consent to participate and have your data destroyed by contacting me up until data analysis begins in February 2019. Data will be stored for a minimum of 7 years in an encrypted folder on my password-protected computer. Only authorized researchers, including my supervisors and myself, will have access to study data. All records are destroyed according to University of Waterloo Policy. I am happy to share some preliminary findings at an appropriate point during the study, as well as a copy of the final dissertation for your records.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40001). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please email me at r2norman@uwaterloo.ca or by phone at (416) 993-3017. I hope you will agree to be part of this project. In the meantime, if you have any questions about participation in this study, I would be pleased to answer any questions you might have and can provide you with additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation. Additionally, please feel free to contact my supervisors (Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair) with any questions or concerns. Their contact information is provided below.

I hope that the findings generated together through this process will be of benefit to those organizations directly involved in the study, as well as to the broader curling community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your involvement in this project.

Sincerely,



Richard Norman, Ph.D (c)
Recreation and Leisure Studies
University of Waterloo
T: (416) 993-3017
E: r2norman@uwaterloo.ca



CONSENT FORM (for in-person interviews)

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Richard Norman, Katie Misener, and Heather Mair of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses.

I am aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in presentations and/or publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous.

I am also aware that I have the option of sharing personal photographs with the researcher during the interview. I understand that with my permission, these photographs may also be used in presentations and/or publications resulting from this research with the understanding that my name will not be used, but my face may be seen.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent without penalty by advising the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40001). I have been informed that if I have any questions, I may contact the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.



CONSENT FORM (continued)

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

YES NO

I agree to have my interview audio recorded.

YES NO

I agree to the use of anonymous quotations in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

YES NO

I agree to allow my personal photographs to be used in any thesis or publication that comes of this research with the understanding that I will not be identified by name, but that my face may be seen.

YES NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____



Appendix C: Consent Letter for Club President



Date:

INFORMATION LETTER TO PRESIDENT
Exploring Curling Culture Through Stories
University of Waterloo

My name is Richard Norman and I am a PhD student at the University of Waterloo, in the Recreation and Leisure Program under the supervision of Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair. I am writing to you as President of [name of club]. I would like to invite your club to participate in a study about curling club culture and the experiences of people who curl. This letter contains information about the nature of the study and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part.

The purpose of the study is to better understand peoples' experiences of curling club culture. Curling offers a unique environment that invites people to connect and socialize through the power of play and sport. As Canadian society becomes more diverse, curling clubs are responding with new programs and initiatives to serve their communities and widen their membership base. The study will help us understand how club culture may influence sport participation for all curlers as well as newcomers entering the sport. The intent of this study is not to evaluate or critically appraise your club, activities, or members. Rather, the intent of the research is to gather new insights to benefit the sport of curling as it faces contemporary challenges.

The study involves interviews with curlers as well as observations of club activities as described below. I am seeking your permission as Club President for the [club name] to participate as a research site. I would ask that you forward the attached information letter via email to your club membership and inform them that I will be observing club activities. Additionally, I will be looking for members to participate in more in-depth interviews. Anyone interested in participating in the study are asked to contact me directly through the details provided.

A major part of the study involves observing curling activities at the club and speaking to members. I would like to come to your curling club to gain first hand experience of the social interactions that occur in the club. I would like to spend some time observing your regular activities and curling events to get a sense of the 'curling life', the club, and the community. I would like to invite anyone who wishes to speak informally with me about the activities that are occurring to gain perspective about the curling community, the curling club environment and its activities. While I will not be audio-recording these informal conversations, I will be making notes about these discussions in general with no specific details about the individuals themselves.

I would also like to invite approximately 15 club members to participate in one-on-one interviews about their experiences at the curling club. If they choose to be involved, participants would be asked to select two or three photographs that represent his or her connections in curling for the interviews. The photos serve as discussion points for the interview. Each interview will last approximately 45 minutes and will be audio recorded for accuracy. Participation is voluntary. The interviews will help me to understand personal motivations and insights about curling's importance in their lives. In appreciation of their time, interview participants will receive a \$10 gift card for Tim Horton's. There are no known or anticipated risks associated with participation in this study.



Participants are not obligated to answer any questions (informally or during interviews) and may decline to answer for any reason. Participants can end the conversations or interviews at their request. All references to participant identity information will be considered confidential. All information that may identify participants will be removed and stored separately. If participant photos are used, no names will be attributed to them. As members' faces may be seen, participant confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. Photos that contain people other than the participant will have those faces blurred or cropped to remove them completely from view. Anonymous quotations and photos will only be used with consent of the participant. Data will be stored for a minimum of 7 years in an encrypted folder on my password-protected computer. Only authorized researchers, including my supervisors and myself, will have access to study data. All records are destroyed according to University of Waterloo Policy. Neither the names of the club nor participants will appear in any presentation or publication resulting from this study. I am happy to share preliminary findings at an appropriate point during the study, as well as a copy of the final dissertation for your records.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40001). If you have questions for the Committee contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

If you are interested in participating in this study, please reply to this email or contact Richard Norman at r2norman@uwaterloo.ca or (416) 993-3017. I hope you will agree to be part of this project. In the meantime, if you have any questions about participation in this study, I would be pleased to answer any questions you might have and can provide you with additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation. Additionally, please feel free to contact my supervisors (Dr. Katie Misener and Dr. Heather Mair) with any questions or concerns. Their contact information is provided below. If you are interested in having your club participate, I will coordinate with you concerning timing and potential events that might be suitable for me to attend.

I hope that the findings generated together through this process will be of benefit to those organizations directly involved in the study, as well as to the broader curling community. I very much look forward to speaking with you and thank you in advance for your involvement in this project.

Sincerely,



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CONSENT FORM (for access to club activities and membership)

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Richard Norman, Katie Misener, and Heather Mair of the Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies at the University of Waterloo. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that observations of club activities will be conducted as part of the study and that informal conversations may occur with club members related to the activities that are being observed. I am also aware that participants will be invited to participate in in-depth one-on-one interviews.

I was informed that I may withdraw my consent/approval without penalty by advising the researcher.

This study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through a University of Waterloo Research Ethics Committee (ORE#40001). I was informed that if I have any questions for the Committee, I may contact the Office of Research Ethics, at 1-519-888-4567 ext. 36005 or ore-ceo@uwaterloo.ca.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study and give approval for access to [the club name] for the researchers involved in the study.

YES NO

Club President: _____ (Please print)

Signature: _____

Witness Name: _____ (Please print)

Witness Signature: _____



Appendix D: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Photo Selection:

1. Tell me about how you decided on these particular photos?
2. What was important for you to include when you selected your photos?

Photo Content:

3. Can you describe what is happening in the photo?
4. When you look back at this photo today, can you talk about what you felt looking at it again?
5. In the photo there is [an object, setting], when you see that [object or setting] today, what thoughts come to mind?
6. How does this photo capture your feelings about curling?
7. Can you tell me a little bit about where this photo is taking place?
 - a. [If it is a curling club] How do you feel about your curling club?
 - b. [If it is not a curling club] What does this location mean to you?

Curling Related:

8. Does this [photo/content] remind you of anything or anyone?
9. How did you get involved in curling?
10. What is your favourite part of curling? Can you give me an example?
11. What is your least favourite part of curling? Can you give me an example?
12. Do you think curling is an example of a Canadian sport? Why or why not?

